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ABSTRACT

This review of research on racism and education comprises sixteen program topics selected by the Michigan-Ohio Regional Educational Laboratory. The introductory section carries 33 items (after Berelson and Steiner, 1964) described as general findings from behavioral science research which appeared four years before the Kerner Commission Report. The topics dealt with are: (1) Changing attitudes of students and teachers, which includes: improvement of Negro self-concept, achievement motivation, confrontation approaches, and teacher attitudes and expectations; (2) Curriculum and materials; (3) Decreasing racial isolation, consisting of: improvement of Negro self-concept, achievement motivation, desegregation, and staff deployment by race; (4) Compensatory education; (5) School working with other agencies, comprised of: decentralized lay board of education, other approaches, and pre-service teacher education; (6) Administrative practices; (7) Teacher education, treated in the two parts: pre-service education recommendations, and in-service education recommendations. Fifteen attitude scales and questionnaires are listed as significant evaluation instruments met with in the literature. (RJ)

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Racism & Education

A REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE RELATED TO SEGREGATION, DISCRIMINATION, AND OTHER ASPECTS OF RACISM IN EDUCATION

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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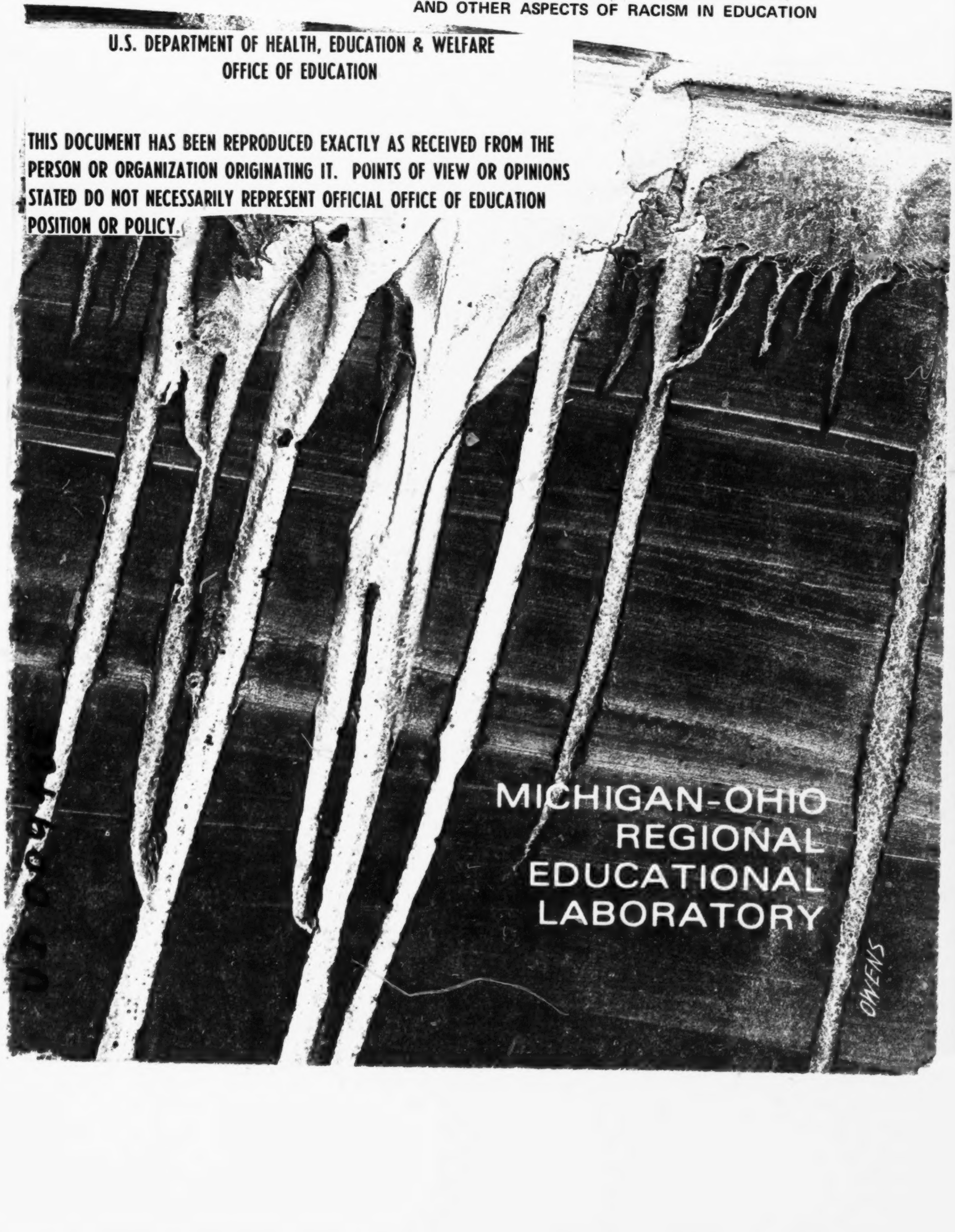

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Racism & Education

A Review of Selected Literature Related to Segregation, Discrimination, and Other Aspects of Racism in Education

MOREL

MICHIGAN-OHIO
REGIONAL
EDUCATIONAL
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PREFACE

A revitalized Program Committee of the MOREL Board of Directors met with Laboratory staff members in late June, 1968, to determine the direction of program search for new development activities. [The Committee comprised James Tanner, Cleveland Public Schools, chairman; George E. Dickson, The University of Toledo; William J. Emerson, Oakland County Intermediate District; Jesse Goodwin, Children's Hospital; E. Leonard Jossem, The Ohio State University; and Edward Simpkins, Detroit Public Schools. The staff members were Stuart Rankin, executive director; Delmo Della-Dora, director of planning & development; and Henry Hagood, research analyst.]

They decided to focus on "Combating Racism and Its Effects" as the central theme for selection of appropriate program efforts. The Program committee also identified 16 program topics for analysis by staff. These topics were considered to be promising in terms of development efforts that might have a significant impact on racism or its effects.

The 16 program topics were examined by a four-man team from mid-July through the end of August, 1968–a period of approximately six weeks. This was primarily a search of relevant literature from education, psychology, and the other behavioral sciences. The Literature Search Team was composed of Boyd Bosma (now coordinator of civil liberties for the National Education Association), Wilson Hughes (principal, River Rouge), Douglas Kolb (principal, Detroit), and Leo Pickett (MOREL information specialist). The team also talked with a number of specialists in race relations throughout the United States–in person or by telephone–in an effort to identify the major research efforts or programs which might furnish a basis for future development activity.

The results of these efforts appear on the following pages. Certain limitations will be readily evident to the reader:

1. *There really are no programs or research activities that deal directly with institutional racism in the United States.*

2. *The kinds of activities or ideas reflected in the literature deal primarily with attitudes of black and white individuals and with the effects of racism on black people. They are not related to the issue of causes of racism except by inference.*

3. *The citations appearing here are limited to those the Literature Search Team was able to locate and read within the six-week period of their work. Many valuable references undoubtedly have been omitted as a result of the time limitation.*

This review of research has been conducted under the direction of Dr. Delmo Della-Dora, MOREL's director of planning and development, as one aspect of the Laboratory's efforts in planning new programs. Special thanks go to Leo Pickett, MOREL information specialist, who collated the material written by members of the Literature Search Team, and to Frank Spear, MOREL editor-writer, who handled final editing and design and coordinated production of *Racism & Education.*

INTRODUCTION

"Why has there been so little basic research on *power* as it relates to racism and discrimination until very recently? We are just now getting into the objective studies so long needed on the control of community decisions in regard to racial discrimination–on how power configurations function to maintain the discriminatory status quo or to enable change. Instead, the research focus in American race relations has been on attitudes–and this has not brought us very far in understanding why White-controlled institutions are so resistant to change and so reluctant to share power.

"Closely related is the question of where science has been while those permanent disaster areas called 'ghettos' have been developing in our major cities. It struck me that urban ghettos have been disaster areas for years if one views them from the angle of the needs and lives of the people who live there instead of the profit and stability of the larger (White) community." (Laue, 1967)*

Laue continues by stating that the ghetto's major disaster characteristic is that of an area involuntarily exploited by outside forces which are beyond its control. The forces, in this case, are economic and political forces downtown instead of storms and floods. Other disaster characteristics are poor health conditions, low control over own immediate destiny, high degree of family instability, a breakdown of information systems and delivery systems, involuntary restriction of movement, and great anxiety, aimlessness and paralysis–and inability to effectively cope with the environment due to the overwhelming effects of the ghetto environment.

Psychological effects of this environment reported by Berelson and Steiner indicate that, as a result of prejudice and discrimination, members of a minority group often suffer some deterioration of personality: self doubt, self hate, impulsive and superstitious behavior, family disturbance, or mental illness. (Berelson and Steiner, 1964)

"Inbred American racism has prevented even liberated professionals like you and me from defining the ghetto system as a severe, on-going disaster of at least the same magnitude as the symptoms of 'civil disorder' manifested from it. Until very recently, we had come to accept this continuing disaster as a normal part of life." (Laue, 1967)

Importance of Ethnic Relations

The following reflect some general findings from behavioral science research which appeared *four years before* the Kerner Commission Report.

1. In the United States it is estimated on the basis of various studies that only 20-25 percent of the adult population could fairly be described as free of hostile attitudes toward one or more minority groups.

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*Complete citations may be found in the Bibliography, pp. 70-82.

2. People typically do not appreciate how prejudiced they in fact are.

3. People prejudiced against one ethnic group tend to be prejudiced against others.

4. The stereotyping of ethnic groups tends to be quite similar across the society, among various social groups and often even within the stereotyped group itself.

5. The less contact or experience with the ethnic group in question, the less strongly held the stereotype and the less important it seems to be.

6. Such stereotypes are quite resistant to change, although changing social and economic conditions can lead to shifts over a long period of time.

7. The common stereotypes of the society tend to be copied unconsciously in the mass media of communication.

8. Prejudice and discrimination are not innate but are learned, usually within the family and often without conscious intent.

9. The biographical development of prejudice and discrimination in the United States begins with the recognition of ethnic differences by age five,* or even before, coupled with generalized dislike of the minority and a start in accepting ethnic stereotypes, but with inconsistent behavior toward members of ethnic groups. In general, there follows a growth of prejudice until adolescence, coupled with greater complexity, intensity, and organization of the attitudes and with more consistency in behavior.

10. People's attitudes and behavior toward ethnic groups typically conform to the norms of the community and of the groups with which they live.

11. As people move from one social group to another, they tend to take over the attitudes and practices of the new group, in this regard as in others.

12. *Personal contact with members of ethnic minorities does not automatically increase or reduce tensions: it can do either or neither.*

13. There is a range within discriminatory practice such that there is most discrimination and most prejudice as the practice comes closer to intimate personal contact.

14. The balance is particularly favorable to a lessening of prejudice when the ethnic groups meet on personal terms, on a common task with shared interests or tastes that run across ethnic lines, and on terms of social and economic equality.

15. Prejudice and, perhaps even more, discrimination arise out of the relative social positions of the groups involved and out of changes in relative position, or the threat thereof.

16. People not in direct competition with members of minority groups are less likely to be prejudiced toward them.

17. Conflict, and especially severe conflict, is more likely when the minority group has secured enough improvement in its situation to appreciate the benefits and want more.

18. There is more discrimination in those areas containing the largest proportions of the minority group, and thus the largest threat to the political, economic, and social position of the majority.

*Some studies show clear evidence of its appearance by age two or three.

19. The higher the level of education, the less the prejudice and the discrimination.

20. The personality of a prejudiced person tends to be characterized by one or more of the following factors: high frustration and displaced aggression; neuroticism, conservatism, conventionalism, and conformism, authoritarianism and orientation to power; projection of undesirable impulses (notably sexual ones) and sexual repression; rigidity and intolerance of ambiguity; insecurity; cynicism; a "jungle philosophy of life."

21. Getting more information about an ethnic group results in the lessening of prejudice, but not to any great extent.

22. The more strongly people feel against ethnic minorities, the less likely they are to be changed in attitudes or behavior by formal communications or propaganda, and especially by the mass media.

23. In an open society, keeping various groups in communication with one another is necessary to maintain social control over prejudice and discrimination.

24. Communication between majority and minority groups tends to be restricted in nature, superficial, or subject to considerable misunderstanding.

25. The minority group is more likely than the majority to be sensitive to and knowledgeable about intergroup relations.

26. The ethnic identification becomes centrally important, especially for the minority itself.

27. The minority group develops hostile, stereotyped attitudes toward other groups in the society, including the majority.

28. The minority usually aspires to be accepted by the majority and as a consequence imitates the majority's behavior in a quite rigid fashion (including, often, taking over the majority's prejudices toward other minorities).

29. The superior-inferior relations, in situations that allow for intimate personal contacts, often lead to the social dominance of the majority men and the minority women, deriving directly from their own sexual relationships.

30. As a result of prejudice and discrimination, some minority ethnic groups are more likely than the dominant segments of the population to engage in crime and delinquency.

31. As a result of prejudice and discrimination in severe degree, members of the majority often suffer from feelings of guilt about their treatment of the minority.

32. Prejudice and discrimination against minority groups are partly maintained by a reinforcing spiral of built-in cause and effect: the disapproved group is deprived, and as a result of the deprivation it is further disapproved.

33. Beyond the human costs, there are economic costs of discrimination as well. (Berelson and Steiner, 1964)

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I.

CHANGING ATTITUDES OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

A. Improvement of Negro Self-concept

1. The widely accepted practice of assigning children to homogeneous ability groups (the "track systems") should either be abandoned entirely or modified to afford maximum opportunity for periodic reevaluation of potentiality. Ability grouping tends inevitably to freeze teachers' expectations as well as children's own self-images; hence it is particularly dangerous to intellectual development in the early grades. (Katz, 1964)

2. Self-concept is not a static and stable structure. There is a blending of the individual's self-concept and the social situation. An individual's self-concept functions to direct his behavior. As an individual participates in situations with varying social expectations his self-concept is modified. A teacher needs to take the role of the other (e.g., a lower class Negro boy) and try to see the school situation as he sees it. A student's conception of his academic ability largely determines his behavior within the school setting. [This study gave special attention to education in the central city and focused on the lower class child who has frequently been unsuccessful in school.] (Snyder, 1965)

3. Parents tend to agree with the teachers' predictions when the child's inferred (or suggested, assumed) self-concept is low. They tend to disagree with teachers when the inferred self-concept is high. Students who over-achieve have a higher self-concept than under-achievers. Efforts to improve the self-concept have a greater chance of affecting the achievement of boys than of girls. There is a need to redefine and refine our understanding of the roles of a person's self-picture in his behavior. Teachers and counselors must continue to use their own good judgment in dealing with students' feelings about themselves, realizing that a specific approach may possibly be harmful but also that no approach at all, from anyone, will probably be more so. (Campbell, 1967)

4. There are ways of changing the self-concept of disadvantaged children. To understand the behavior of a person, one must understand how that person sees himself. The first year of life is most important for the development of self image. Each succeeding year is less important. Self-concept is seen to be structured by the time of adolescence. After adolescence, one's self becomes less subject to modification by "significant others." The family is one of the major contexts in which the self-concept develops. Children become aware of the teacher's attitudes toward them and the self-concept depreciates as a result. Disadvantaged children fare worse with their peers than with their teachers. The self-concept is formed through assimilation of external labels that are applied to the person. Regardless of external appearances and characteristics, any child who has an unfavorable picture of himself is a socially disadvantaged child. When a teacher has to make negative comments, he should make them about the

behavior, not about the person. Emphasis on persons and feelings should be added to emphasis on knowledge, with emphasis on persons being the more important. Any assessment should be based on the individual's accomplishment rather than on group comparisons. Encouragement and positive remarks should replace negative ones. (Hawk, 1967)

5. Gurin and Katz found in 1966 that although it is better for students to believe in their own capacities to control what happens in their lives (sense of control of one's own destiny), it is apparently better for them to focus on discrimination in explaining why other Negroes may have difficulties in attaining their goals. The authors feel that Negro students should hold high, though realistic, expectations; they should be sensitive to "new" opportunities; they should be better able to locate the "causes" of problems; they should be better prepared to change the system if they are disposed to social action. (Gurin and Katz, 1966)

6. A conference entitled "The Relationship of Education to Self-concept in Negro Children and Youth," sponsored by the Lincoln Filene Center in September, 1963, saw failure in school, early dropouts, lack of employment, unwed motherhood, and delinquency as an all too familiar sequence in the lives of the disadvantaged youth, Negro and white. For many Negro young people, this familiar series of events is further aggravated by accumulated incidents of discrimination, segregation, and social ostracism. These experiences seemed to reinforce and reflect low self-concept among such youth. The conference presented, to concerned Americans, a two-fold challenge: first, constructive channels for emergent high self-esteem among the Negro vanguard must be found; and second, the continuing grip of low self-esteem among the overwhelming majority of Negro citizens must be recognized and broken.

In understanding other individuals all kinds of self-concepts are significant. But the negative ones are of greater concern to us as educators and citizens. The child with a negative view of himself is one who is less likely to profit adequately from school. The educator's task is rendered almost impossible once a child is convinced that he cannot learn in school. He may make trouble not only for teachers and classmates but also for himself. A negative self-concept is just as crippling and just as hard to overcome as any physical handicap. In fact, a negative self-image may be even more crippling, because it is often hidden from the view of an untrained observer. Most children who hate themselves act out this self-hatred by kicking at the world around them. They are hard to control, abusive, and angry at a world which has told them that they are not valued, no good, and are not going to be given a chance. Such attitudes often continue in adult life.

Conference Conclusions or Outcomes:

a. The Negro problem . . . must be recognized as a uniquely racial or caste one. Lower-class Negroes are subjected daily to psychological injury above and beyond that which their economic standing incurs. This type of injury extends to Negroes of all social classes. Job discrimination, housing segregation, the existence of all-Negro schools, obvious tensions in personal contacts with whites constantly remind the Negro that he is different with the difference implying inferiority.

b. The Negro revolt is moving at such high speed much of the research reflected in the working papers of the conference is swiftly becoming outdated. A big problem to be faced by schools and other community agencies is how to keep abreast of new knowledge and new developments.

c. Although schools are involved inescapably in a social revolution, social scientists feel that school people generally have not really become a part of the movement. Social scientists say that prefessional educators have difficulty in accepting the changing situation as one in which school people take a responsibility for initiating new solutions and as one in which their customary expectations of middle-class behavior on the part of children may have to be modified. The scientists at the Conference felt that school people expected them to initiate new solutions. They, the social scientists, say that it is up to the schools to absorb the already available information to use it in solving school problems and in building new programs.

d. The Negro's dilemma as he moves up the social structure is the achievement of a sense of self and an identity without "selling his soul" to the white community.

Action proposals from the Conference included:

a. A major method of improving the Negro's life chances was seen through effectiveness in politics. As far as meaningful citizenship was concerned, the schools would be potentially an influential source of future training of Negroes. In many ways schools could show and/or teach just how much could be expected, from a realistic standpoint, from political participation as an instrument for individual and group betterment. In line with this schools could also aid in the development of more effective skills and strategies in politics in order to fulfill new expectations.

b. The school could explore ways to make use of community events such as boycotts, marches, sit-ins, etc., in order to advance the educational understanding and growth of both Negro and white youth, especially in social studies programs.

c. There should be continuous dialogue between the school and Negro parents concerning the aims, purposes, and procedures of the school. This dialogue should begin long before the child enters school.

d. Many Negro families and youth often have direct contacts with welfare offices, employment and unemployment services, etc. This kind of experience and competency could possibly be used constructively to help in the social-civic development of Negroes.

The Conference proposed the following Direct Changes:

a. Psychological and social differentiation among Negro youngsters must be made to break the common stereotype. School authorities could consider three overlapping categories within the realm of Negro youth: (1) the Negro students who are already "well on their way" and who may even try to "out-middle-class" the middle-class academic white students; (2) those students who have upward aspirations, but who are blocked and for whom there appear no legitimate means to chosen goals; and (3) those Negroes who are stable and are staying in the submilieu representing often the hard core of the defeated, the paralyzed, and the unmotivated. Negroes are like white youngsters in intelligence, aptitude, and achievement. Hence, different approaches and programs will be required to meet the needs of all Negro youth.

b. "Role playing" and "role taking" opportunities should be provided daily in school life of Negro and white youth. Teachers as well as pupils could employ these techniques as a means of breaking down racial stereotypes and in improving mutual understanding of each group's positions.

c. Identification problems and opportunities of Negro youth need careful attention with particular reference to role and hero models in the school and neighborhood. Preparation of visual, auditory, and printed materials showing Negroes who have moved along in the social, economic, and educational scene should be prepared and tried out experimentally with both white and Negro youth."

d. Special training of teachers working with culturally deprived Negroes should be available in both teacher-preparation institutions and in-service training program

e. The experimental use of a modified social worker trained in group dynamics to assist teachers in the classroom in an effort to improve interpersonal relationships among pupils and among teachers and to modify aspects of the school culture or way of life has been recommended as a fruitful area for research.

f. Rules, regulations, and rituals of many schools often tend to block communication and to have a dehumanizing effect on all youngsters, including Negro youth. Development of close ties and friendships by pupils can do much to improve human relationships.

g. Greater attention in classroom learning and textbook material needs to be devoted to the "Negro problem" in its various forms–e.g., segregation, discrimination, poverty, politics, delinquency, and dropouts–as a central political and moral issue in American life.

Need for research was suggested in regard to Negro self-concept and education also focusing on the white population, whose projections, concepts, and stereotypes are an integral part of the Negro's problem. Similar studies might also be made of slow-acculturating white groups whose problems of cultural disadvantage resemble that of the Negro (French Canadians, Puerto Ricans, "poor whites" from the South). *Emphasis on the "Negro problem" should include an orientation that it is also a "white man's problem."* There is a need to establish and test out various models for bridge building between the school and the Negro family and community. There is also the need to study the nature and extent of parents' commitments to the concept of "neighborhood schools." Special consideration needs to be given to the effects on pupils and schools of moving new youngsters, white or Negro, out of or into the neighborhood to achieve racial balance. (Kvaraceus, 1965)

B. Achievement Motivation

1. Inherent or genetic differences in intelligence between races have not been established. As with comparative intelligence, there is no reason to believe that there are inherent racial differences in temperament. Parental pressure for and reward of early achievement, when coupled with a high ratio of successes to failures, results in a high need for achievement in later life, provided that the child has a good identification with his parents. The more the physical demonstration of affection as a reward for fulfilling parental demands for independence, the stronger the drive for achievement. The earlier the parental demands for achievement, the stronger the subsequent drive for achievement. The less restrictive and protective the parents, the more likely is the independent achievement of the children. Aspiration for and attainment of higher education depend not only on intellectual capacity but also on social class and certain ethnic characteristics (males only). The peer groups in education institutions not only help to shape the general behavior of the adolescents and young persons outside the classroom but has a strong influence upon the classroom attainment as well.

Survival theoretically takes precedence over all other motivations despite occasional exceptions. If visceral stability is threatened, the entire cognitive system is probably turned toward eliminating the threat. The hungry, thirsty, or overtired child is so needy of visceral satisfaction that his whole system is bent on finding it. The inner peace needed for reflective thinking cannot be found under such high-pressure conditions. (Suchman, 1966)

2. Previous studies by authors in the area of goal setting by school children have demonstrated:

    a. Specific hard goals produce a higher performance level than goals of "do your best."

    b. Hard goals yield less overall task liking and satisfaction than easy goals.

    c. Specific hard goals produce more interest (less boredom) in the task than "Do-Best" goals.

    d. Specific performance goals can serve to raise the motivation of subjects who are low in the motivation they bring to the task.

e. Telling high-motivated subjects to do their best resulted in little performance increase and the development of increasingly less favorable attitudes toward the task.

f. The lack of correlation between performance and attitude measures supports findings that attitudes and performance are not necessarily related. (Bryan and Locke, 1967)

3. Separate random samples of 233 Negro and 515 Caucasian high school students were used in testing verbal aptitudes, academic achievement, and academic motivation. Green and Trangulav found that except for Negro males both samples obtained significant correlations between verbal aptitude and achievement. The Negro males showed no such relationship between aptitude and achievement, but academic-motivation tests correlated significantly with achievement for all groups of interest.

"Any test of native intelligence must of necessity assume equivalent backgrounds of the individuals and groups under study. But until conditions entirely free from segregation and discrimination are achieved and the floor of Negro poverty is raised to the level of whites, the definitive research on racial differences in intelligence cannot be performed. Meanwhile psychologists must conduct their work in a culture where training and opportunity for the two groups are never completely equal."

Pettigrew further stated that "the overwhelming opinion of modern psychology concludes that the mean differences often observed between Negro and white children are largely the result of environmental, rather than genetic, factors. This is not to assert that psychologists deny altogether the possibility of inherited racial differences in intellectual structure. There may be a small residual mean difference–small not only because of the demonstrably sweeping influence of experience, but also because the two"races" are by no means genetically "pure" and "separate."

The behavioral sciences of sociology and anthropology share this same conclusion with psychology. The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, a division of the American Psychological Association, concluded in 1961:

"There are differences in intelligence test scores when one compares a random sample of whites and Negroes. What is equally clear is that no evidence exists that leads to the conclusion that such differences are innate. Quite to the contrary, the evidence points overwhelmingly to the fact that when one compares Negroes and whites of comparable cultural and educational background, differences in intelligence diminish markedly; the more comparable the background, the less the difference. There is no direct evidence that supports the view that there is an innate difference between members of different racial groups . . . "

> Another group, the Society for the Study of Social Problems, a section of the American Sociological Association, concurred in the same year: (1961) . . . "the great preponderance of scientific opinion has favored the conclusion that there is little or no ground on which to assume that the racial groups in question are innately different in any important human capacity . . . the conclusion of scientists is that the differences in test performance by members of so-called

> racial groups are due not to racial but to environmental factors. This is the operating assumption today of the vast majority of the competent scientists in the field . . . "

The American Anthropological Association passed a resolution by a unanimous vote (192 to 0) in 1961:

> "The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to whites, and reaffirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are compatible with all that is known before human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization."

If there are any inherent distinctions they are very inconsequential. Differences in I.Q. *within one race* greatly exceed differences *between races.* Race as such is not an accurate way to judge an individual's intelligence. It would seem that the real problems in this area concern ways to overcome the many serious environmental deprivations that handicap Negro youth. Just as America has expanded the life potential of its citizens in the past 100 years, it (America) needs to expand the intelligence of its underprivileged citizens in the same way. The success of such programs as "the Banneker group" in St. Louis demonstrates this job can be accomplished when our country decides to put enough of its resources into it. (Pettigrew. *Negro American Intelligence,* 1964)

4. "Given the same opportunities and motivation, our pupils (black) can measure up to the whites. But first we must convince their families that an education is important." This is the viewpoint of Dr. Samuel Shepard, inspired school administrator who initiated "Operation Motivation" to convince parents and students in the deprived Banneker school area in St. Louis, Missouri, that blacks could do as well in education as whites.

Dr. Shepard invited parents to meetings to talk about their children's schoolwork and future. At first there was only a trickle of interest, but he persevered. Making the rounds of his 23 schools, he spoke night after night. He pointed out that a high-school graduate can expect to earn $4,500 a year, a college graduate $6,300 and up, while the unskilled can expect only $2,000 to $3,000–if, indeed, automation did not steal his job. The turnout at these meetings increased from 400 to 500 persons. When the parents asked "What do you want us to do?" Dr. Shepard replied "See that your children have a time and place to do their homework. Shut off the radio and TV. Look over and sign homework assignment notebooks each week. And get your kids to school every day, on time. People say the Negro is shiftless. If this is true, the place to cure it is at school." The parents signed a "Pledge of Cooperation." School attendance, study habits, and scholarship all improved the first year of the project.

Dr. Shepard instructed his teachers and principals to "Stop teaching by I.Q. You know that Mary tested 119, so you urge her on, draw her out, encourage her. But Johnny only tested 74. So when he doesn't respond, you pat him on the head and say, 'You've been a good boy, and you can clean the black board!' I'm asking you to roll up your sleeves and teach as if every kid had an I.Q. of 120." He had his teachers make visits to the homes of the students. These visits served to give to the teachers insight and sympathetic understandings, and they also established better rapport between teachers and pupils. He also brought insuccessful Negroes who "had achieved." In 1957-58, when St. Louis began the track system, the 23 Banneker schools had 47 percent below average (Track 3); 46 percent were noted average (Track 2); and only 7 percent in the top level (Track 1). Today only 11 percent are in the low division, and 22 percent are superior. School attendance has jumped from 80 percent to 91 percent and one school had a 95 percent attendance figure in 1963. Vandalism had dropped significantly. (Friggens, 1964)

5. Irwin Katz reports motivation research findings as follows:

   a. Beyond the earliest grades, the scholastic achievement of Negro children when compared with that of whites is much more closely related to the intellectual proficiency of both teachers and classmates.

   b. Among boys, the poor students engaged in more self-criticism and were less favorable in their total self-evaluations than the good students.

   c. Judges detected no differences in quality of performance associated with academic achievement or self-ratings.

   d. There were tendencies on both the lever-pressing and crayon coloring tests for boys who have been highly self-critical to avoid exposing themselves to the color that had previously been associated with the critical label "Poor."

   e. Both low academic achievement and self-criticism related to children's perceptions of low rewardingness and high punitiveness on the part of both parents.

   f. Once a child has had some contact with punishment for a particular type of behavior, he will experience anticipatory anxiety in the intervals which occur between subsequent enactments of such behavior and the occurence of punishment . . . The likelihood that self-imposed failure operates as an anxiety-reducing mechanism in disadvantaged male pupils is clearly indicated.

An important source of school anxiety in Negroes probably has to do with the inordinately high demands for academic achievement that are made by minority group parents—demands that are higher even than those imposed by white middle-class parents. Several investigators have found that the majority of Negro parents who have attained an economic status above the very lowest levels of poverty desire a college education for their sons, and majorities or near-majorities want them to enter professions. These aspirations are so discrepant with the amount of effort lower-class parents actually devote to their children's educational needs (for example, helping with homework), and so unrealistic in view of the typical lower-class child's academic retardation, as to suggest that they are merely empty statements, made for the benefit of the interviewer or expressions of fantasies that have nothing to do with real events. The aspirations have consequences in that they somehow get conveyed to the child as expectations he is supposed to fulfill. This hypothesis helps explain why low-achieving Negro boys in this study appeared to be harshly over-critical of their own achievement of efforts rather than easily satisfied or indifferent. It is also consistent with research that has shown higher educational aspirations among Negro children than among white age peers of comparable economic levels. When asked whether they wanted to be good students, a higher proportion of Negroes than any other ethnic group, over half, reported that they wanted to be one of the best in the class. Negroes reported also more studying outside school than any group except Oriental-Americans.

Having a need to overstate the degree of one's educational interest on an anonymous questionnaire is in itself a fact of much significance. It reveals that one holds achievement values and achievement standards that do not get reflected in actual achievement efforts. Apparently, the typical Negro mother tries to socialize her child for scholastic achievement by laying down verbal rules and regulations about classroom conduct coupled with punishment of detected transgressions. But she does not do enough to guide and encourage her child's efforts at verbal-symbolic mastery. Therefore, the child learns only to verbalize standards of academic interest and attainment. These standards then provide the cognitive basis for negative self-evaluation.

The foregoing analysis does not satisfactorily account for the finding in the Coleman survey of greater scholastic interest in Negro twelfth-graders. As part of his adjustment to failure, the low-achieving Negro student probably learns to use expressions of interest and ambition as a verbal substitute for behaviors he is unable to enact. The effect is probably double-edged: anxiety is *reduced* in situations where verbal expressions are enough, yet by emphasizing the discrepancy between real and ideal performance, anxiety is raised in actual achievement situations. Hence, as the Negro student falls increasingly behind in his school work, the expression of high verbal standards contributes to a growing demoralization.

When high standards are adopted, but not the behavioral mechanisms necessary for attainment, the relationship between verbal expressions of the standards and actual performance will tend to be an inverse one. *Since Negro achievement in fact was higher in majority-white schools, it would appear that a modest self-concept is not detrimental to Negro academic performance, provided children can depend upon the environment to dispense rewards in a fair and equitable way.*(Katz, 1968)

6. In the fall of 1965, a five-year systematic study under the direction of Dr. Alfred Alschuler and the supervision of Dr. David C. McClelland was launched to find ways of increasing motivation in adolescents. The purpose of the project was two-fold: to identify the key variable in general motivational arousal, and to develop high school curricula to increase achievement motivation. As part of this research, "n-Ach" (need for achievement) courses are being given to high school students. Each course is given differently in order to

find out which methods of motive arousal are most effective. Schools emphasize knowledge and skills, but they neglect the problem of developing motivation to use this knowledge and skills.

According to Alschuler, motives are different patterns of thought associated with different goals. Achievement thoughts are those associated with striving for some kind of excellence, as opposed to the thoughts associated with gaining prestige and influences (power motivation) . . . A story contains achievement motivation thoughts if, and only if, it includes a stated goal of striving for a standard of excellence. (Alschuler, 1967)

Researchers discovered that individuals with high achievement motivations tend to act in certain characteristic ways:

a. High achievement individuals tend to set carefully calculated moderate-risk goals. They do not set extremely high-risk goals in which their efforts are doomed to failure or are guaranteed of success. They choose challenging goals.

b. Individuals with high achievement motivation prefer situations in which they can obtain immediate, concrete feedback to evaluate just how well they are doing.

c. They (high achievers) prefer situations in which they can take personal responsibility for the outcomes of their efforts. They like to control their own destinies through their own actions, initiative, and innovations.

It is found that cultures in which there was direct training for achievement also had folk tales with high levels of achievement motivation. On the other hand, cultures which are characterized by rigid or restrictive child-rearing practices (punishing children for failure to be obedient and responsible) have folk tales with relatively low levels of achievement motivation.

According to Alschuler, these studies describe an important social-psychological pattern. Certain cultural values are reflected in child-rearing practices which foster high achievement motivation in children. Further, high achievement motivation in a child often crystallizes into an entrepreneurial personality and subsequent career as a manager or administrator.

Alschuler states that the majority of psychoanalysts, developmental psychologists, and personality change researchers hold that personality is formed during the socialization years and is exceptionally difficult to change in important ways later. In fact, much of the previous n-Ach research supports the view that motives are learned early and remain relatively stable thereafter. That the level of achievement motivation can be changed in adults, in a relatively short period of time (a week to ten days), and remain changed, for several years, is a contradictory, yet optimistic, finding. (Alschuler, 1967)

To influence change in a person there has to be a belief in the possibility and desirability of change. The more an individual commits himself to achieving specific goals related to the motive, the more the motive is likely to influence his future thought and action. A motive is likely to influence his future thought and action. A motive is a pattern or cluster of goal-directed thoughts typically associated with certain action strategies ... the motive syndrome is the integration of thoughts, actions and contexts ... the more an individual clearly conceptualizes the motive to be acquired, the more likely he will be to employ that motive.

Two residential n-Ach courses were given to 21 Arlington High School juniors, identified by school personnel as "most difficult" potential dropouts. The results, one year later, were as follows:

a. Of the experimental group of 21 only one student had dropped out of school. Eight of the matched control group of 36 dropped out of school.

b. Of the experimental group the average grades had gone up about one half a letter grade. The grades of the experimental group increased in spite of the fact that they took more difficult courses than before. As far as level of aspiration was concerned, no equivalent change was reflected in the course choices of the control group.

c. In discussing their current activities, most of the boys who took the n-Ach course stated new-found personal interests which have led them into their current activities. In contrast, almost none of the boys in the control group attribute new activities to their own motives.

They appear to reflect continued lack of internal motivation in contrast to the n-Ach boys who show a new sense of autonomy and control over their own lives.

"Although AMDP (Achievement Motivation Development Project) research is still in its early phases, one trend exists with sufficient clarity to be reported here. The motive-acquisition courses constitute a new approach to personality change. The goal of the courses is psychological, to increase achievement motivation. The methods employed, however, are basically educational: The courses are taught in classrooms by teachers who use the full range of educational psychology which attempts to foster academic growth by applying psychological principles and methods. This new approach has been called "Psychological Education."

Psychological education courses may be given in programs for the Peace Corps, Vista, Upward Bound, The Job Corps, and perhaps in mental hospitals as well. These courses should help to bridge the artificial separation between academic teaching and therapy-guidance. They will foster practical ways of breaking out of the present narrow concern of education as taking place only in schools, and in children and adolescents, and such courses may provide a more effective, efficient means of developing human resources.

Although the range of existing options available to psychological educators is limited at present, the possibilities mentioned above are near realization. The Achievement Motivation Development Project will continue to engage actively in their creation. It is hoped that psychological education eventually will make a contribution to the field of personality change equivalent to McClelland's earlier contribution to the understanding of economic history. (Alschuler, 1967)

C. Confrontation Approaches

1. La Piere in 1930-32 traveled 10,000 miles with a Chinese couple. They were refused service only once, and were served without incident in 66 sleeping places and 184 eating places. Later, 92 percent of owners of lodging places and 93 percent of owners of eating places said that they would not serve Chinese. (La Piere, 1934)

2. *Issues and Alternatives: A Report of the Fifth NEA-PR&R Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education* dealt with the importance of sensitivity training. This reported that human relations must become a pervasive influence at all levels of the educational operation, involving everyone, vertically from the superintendent to the ghetto janitor, and horizontally from the voice of the ghetto to the private inner sanctums of the jet set. "Sensitivity" activities to induce systematic personalized communication were seen as most viable tools in the hands of those who genuinely desire to become agents of change. Educators were urged to look to "sensitizing" themselves from within before attempting to extend their efforts.

Workshops in sensitivity training can open circuits of communication long filled with static and can provide the means for self-actualization. Such training must involve a conceptualization which will allow the involvement of the total community. Parents, administrators, state departments of education, members of boards of education, leaders in local government, classroom teachers, and institutions of higher learning are all potential clients. Local and state associations could assume the leadership role in instituting this training. It is incumbent on local groups to become the agents of change.

The National Training Laboratory (Bethel, Maine) stands ready to assist both state and local associations in the training necessary to implement these ideas. Sensitivity training can enable educators to recognize their own feelings, abilities, and limitations.

D. Teacher Attitudes and Expectations

1. Clark noted a number of faulty assumptions commonly held by educators. He listed several of what he called *well intentioned but erroneous assumptions by educators:*

   a. Each child should be educated in terms of his own needs and capacities.

   b. Children from working-class cultures need not only a different approach in the educational process, but a different type of education. [Clark took sharp issue on this point with educational recommendations in Conant's *Slums and Suburbs*.]

   c. One cannot expect from culturally deprived children adequate performance in the classroom because they come from homes in which there is no stimulation for educational achievement.

d. Children from deprived communities bring into the classroom certain psychological problems which are peculiar to their low socio-economic status and which interfere with the educational process in their classrooms.

e. One can predict the future academic success of the child by knowing his I.Q. score obtained early in the elementary grades.

Clark also identified assumptions based upon class and racial snobbery and reflecting clear-cut social science ignorance:

a. "It's not really worth putting the time and effort into teaching them because, after all, they will only become frustrated."

b. "There is no point in their having high academic aspirations if their reality will be restricted to menial jobs."

c. "Negro children are inherently inferior in intelligence and therefore cannot be expected to learn as much or as readily as white children; and that all one would do, if one tried to teach them as if they could learn, would be to develop in them serious disturbances, frustrations and anxieties. The humanitarian thing to do, therefore, is to provide schools as custodial rather than educational institutions." Clark holds that the first eight years of schooling of all American children should be exactly the same without reference to I.Q. score. (Clark, 1964)

2. Examination of the literature yields no explanation or justifications for any child with an intact brain, and who is not severely disturbed, not to learn all the basic scholastic skills. According to Deutsch, the failure of such children to learn is the failure of the schools to develop curricula consistent with the environmental experiences of the children and their subsequent initial abilities and disabilities. (Deutsch, 1964)

3. Since the public-school system is operated primarily by adults with middle-class values, the lower-class child is penalized not only on educational grounds but on broadly social grounds as well. As the public educational system grows in size, the recruitment of teachers comes more and more from lower social classes. The lower the class origin of college students, the higher the prestige they assign to the teaching career. The effect of style of teaching or teachers characteristics on teacher-student relations or on the number of ideas absorbed by the students (i.e., teaching effectiveness) is uncertain. (Berelson and Steiner, 1964)

4. As a demonstration of Rosenthal's "self-fulfilling prophecy," the Harvard Test of Inflected Acquisition was administered to all children in South San Francisco's Spruce Elementary School in the spring of 1964. Those children from whom the teachers had been led to expect greater gains showed significantly greater gains in I.Q. score (12.2) than did the control children (8.4). The evidence that when teachers have low expectations for their students, the

latter will conform to that expectation in behavior and performance lends weight to the need for positively oriented classroom teachers. Perhaps more important, given the practical considerations of replacing negatively-oriented teachers with more positively-oriented ones, there is a need for inservice education. Probably the most significant aspect of the study is the spectacular gains made by school children in the first and second grades who were randomly identified as "academic spurters" and who obviously responded positively to teachers who had high expectations for them. (Rosenthal, 1968)

5. Edward L. Cushman and Damon Keith were co-chairman for the Detroit Board of Education of a High School Study Commission in 1967-68. The findings and recommendations given greatest weight:

   a. In view of the fact that more and more neighborhoods in Detroit are becoming predominately Negro, resulting in an imbalance in the racial characteristics of the student body, every effort should be made to strengthen educational offerings in the schools in a manner that more fully meets the needs of Negro students and to reverse conditions which generally accompany "racial isolation."

   b. A massive in-service education program should be undertaken for the teaching staff in all high schools. A summer format in which experienced teachers will work with nationally prominent consultants to develop curriculum guides, materials, strategies, educational media and procedure for developing positive attitudes should be implemented.

      This program should take place during a six-week period. Each area of the curriculum should be fully explored. During the year following the initial summer program, the curriculum guides and other materials should be introduced in the school program.

      The degree of appropriateness of these materials should be evaluated and monitored during the regular school year. A second summer should entail a reevaluation of the work of these curriculum procedures with the goal of their ultimate adoption. This process of curriculum change and in-service education should be established on a continuing basis.

   c. The course in American history required of all students at the high school level must include Negro history. Appropriate materials should be selected and developed for use in this course.

   d. The apprenticeship programs should be examined periodically in terms of alleged discriminatory practices toward Negroes.

   e. The role of the Civil Rights Commission in regard to the discriminatory practices of trade unions should be supported by the School Board.

   f. Give special consideration to those particularly qualified applicants who request assignment to inner-city schools.

g. Recognize that the most important single task for the Detroit Public Schools in this area is to devise realistic measures that will rapidly correct the historic paucity of Negro school administrators. We charge the Detroit Public Schools with the responsibility to:

   (1) implement an immediate program to encourage and prepare Negro personnel for advancement to administrative positions;

   (2) recognize the necessity of securing a drastic increase in the number of Negro administrators in the public schools.

h. Base promotional opportunity on merit and make it available to all qualified employees on a city-wide basis. In addition, devise a procedure to redress the practices which resulted in a disproportionate number of white administrators to the end that the number of Negro administrators should relate to the number of Negro teachers in the system. (Cushman & Keith, 1968)

The Commission vigorously opposed the "common myth" that Negro students cannot learn, and asked that the school system destroy "this myth by devoting the resources of the Board of Education to develop the educational competence of every child to the maximum of his individual abilities."

The Subcommittee on School-Community Relations strongly urged that the following goals be incorporated into the over-all plan:

- *Integrated Education*

"We are striving in this country to hold as a major goal the development of a viable, integrated society. Strides toward this desired goal are being made, but there is still much work to be done. It is our hope that all our children, of whatever race, will live in a world in which no race will be forced to live apart. In the modern world, isolation has become an absurd anachronism.

If we are to live in a multiracial society rather than a black community and white community, we must squarely face the problems of economic stratification, housing discrimination, population movements, and school districting. The school must take positive steps toward the creation of an open society.

The schools must take the lead in developing a community attitude that recognizes the rights of individuals to control their own destiny. The yearning for self-determination grows stronger every day at the community level. The school must recognize that all community members need opportunities for real involvement and real responsibility in decision making and policy formation. This means that, at the building level, representatives of parents, the community and the students must work with the school personnel in the development and administration of the educational opportunities of that individual school.

One of the vital social tasks of the school is to break up the pattern of de facto segregation that exists in Detroit. The Board of Education's approach to this problem must involve substantial assistance from local, state and federal governments. However, the Board must vigorously carry out such steps within its purview as integrating the school's student body and faculty; the Board should change school attendance boundaries and make use of other means that are available to move the community towards this goal, even though a great investment of time and money will be required.

- *That Quality Integrated Education of and for All Students Be Implemented Unequivocally*

  In order to meet the goal of quality integrated education, the Detroit Board of Education should formulate workable integration programs with private and parochial schools to the maximum extent that the law permits.

- *Equal Employment Opportunities*

  Equal employment opportunities must be available to all people. The Detroit Board of Education should continue to demonstrate leadership in the community toward this desired goal. Although the Board has made progress in the recruitment and selection of an ever larger number of Negro teachers, even greater efforts are required. Furthermore, simply hiring Negro teachers is not enough. The Board of Education should develop comprehensive programs of in-service training for new professionals to prepare them for advancement into positions of greater responsibility in the system.

  The Detroit Board of Education should demonstrate similar leadership in the hiring and promotional practices regarding the non-professional staff.

  Furthermore, the Detroit Board of Education should encourage area employers to adopt plans for recruiting, training, and up-grading qualified personnel, without regard to race or religion.

- *That the Detroit Board of Education Work Toward the Provision of Equal Employment Opportunities for All People*

  The schools should work for the constructive resolution of those community problems which block the achievement of the goal of quality integrated education. The Detroit Board of Education should take leadership role to develop a community spirit that supports the principle of vigorous, fair, and equal law enforcement. Correspondingly, the community should be made cognizant of the fact that these ends can hardly be attained without professional, better trained, better paid, and better equipped law enforcement officers.

  The schools should not overlook any opportunity to help resolve this issue. In addition to the official posture of the Board of Education and the city-wide activities of the Division of School-Community Relations, each school, and particularly each high school, should develop in cooperation with the Police Department programs, that touch all the students and the parents in the individual high school communities. Programs should be developed to educate students about the police and their work in a context other than that of being arrested for something the student did or did not do. The schools should work vigorously to see that manpower and other resources for such programs are made available from both the Police Department and the Board of Education.

- *Central Office Staff*

  An Administrative Assistant should be added to the staff of the Division of School-Community Relations to do research in the area of community relations. (Cushman and Keith, 1968)

II.
CURRICULUM AND MATERIALS

Afro-American Culture

1. Cuban discussed instructional materials on the Negro in the public schools. As the purpose of ethnic materials he proposed the following criteria:
   Balanced picture of America
   Improve interracial relations
   Improve self-concept of the low-income Negro

He also indicated that such materials cannot, of themselves, change a child's view of himself or ultimately change his behavior. Cuban also feels that:

a. Accumulations of factual knowledge are not of primary importance.

b. Racism and poverty of Negroes cannot be exorcised by such materials.

c. The usage of such materials is limited, because there has been no training of the teachers who use them.

d. The goals of such materials are usually relegated to the position of "supplementary" and not comprehended in the teaching context. Teachers can and should be trained to use such materials; students will respond to such materials. (Cuban, 1967)

2. In a study conducted by Facen of Grambling College, determination was made of the degree of tension produced in white students when presented with certain materials regarding Negroes. The results were as follows:

> Observable tension was produced in white subjects when presented with certain unfounded beliefs and with factual materials pertaining to Negroes.
>
> When contrasting observations were tabulated for reactions during the period when the discussion pertained to Negroes against the reactions when the topic was a regular classroom discussion, each judge expressed the opinion that there was a definite rise in tension.
>
> This was further supported by a substantial increase in types and frequency of certain tension reactions as compared to previous reactions of subjects. (Facen, 1962)

III.

DECREASING RACIAL ISOLATION

A. Improvement of Negro Self-concept

1. Many of the experts express the belief that segregation and discrimination as practiced in the United States are extremely damaging to Negro personality and self-cencept. Hagstrom found that:

   a. There is evidence that American Negroes have suffered personality damage through membership in their racial group, and that deleterious influences on Negroes begin in early childhood.

   b. There is evidence that racial segregation in itself is psychologically harmful to Negroes.

   c. Although the process of racial desegregation is probably beneficial to Negroes, further changes may be necessary to end the psychic damage resulting even to desegregated Negroes from membership in the Negro minority in the United States.

   d. Major changes in several areas of American society as well as conditions which will enhance general motivational levels of Negroes are necessary to the attainment of full Negro equality which, in turn, would ensure that no person is psychologically harmed by virtue of being Negro.

Hagstrom further suggested that in the long run avoidance of destruction to Negro personality will require:

   a. Desegregation of Negroes in presently segregated social systems;

   b. Negroes visibly in positions of high status, power, and influence in the United States in rough proportion to their numbers;

   c. Interracial primary (e.g., friendship) relations of equality from very early in the lives of Negroes so that they will acquire the skills and opportunities to participate freely as equals in the larger community, and especially in the large work organizations. (Hagstrom. 1964)

A more complete and systematic review of available research than would be possible in this report relating to desegregation and decreasing racial isolation may be found in Meyer Weinberg, *Desegregation Research: An Appraisal,* Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, Summer, 1968. Rather than attempt to duplicate the reports found in this outstanding compilation, the writers would recommend that any serious student of desegregation review Weinberg's report.

2. In a supplemental study for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, Campbell and Schuman reported a number of significant findings in relation to Negro self-concepts and attitudes regarding integration and separatism as goals for American society. In their review of racial attitudes of more than 5,000 Negroes and whites in 15 major American cities, they reported that "separatism" appealed to from 5 percent to 18 percent of the Negro sample, depending on the question, with the largest appeal involving black ownership of stores and black administration of schools in Negro neighborhoods, and the smallest appeal the rejection of whites as friends or in other informal contacts.

Campbell and Schuman stated that more than three-quarters of the Negro sample indicated a clear preference for integration, representing not merely a practical wish for better material facilities, but a commitment to principles of non-discrimination and racial harmony.

Among other findings of the study, conducted in early 1968:

a. A strong trend in the data is related to, but different from and much stronger, than, separatism, which concerns the positive cultural identity and achievements of Negroes, rather than their political or social separation from whites. The fact that two out of five Negroes now subscribe to an emphasis on "black consciousness" that was "almost unthought of a few years ago" is seen most strikingly in the endorsement by 42 percent of the sample of the statement, "Negro school children should study an African language." The authors suggest that attempts to emphasize black consciousness without rejection of whites may have wide potential appeal among Negroes, and that a substantial number of Negroes want both integration and black identity.

b. While 19 out of 20 whites expressed their opposition in principle to racial discrimination in employment, a third of the Negro sample believe they have experienced such discrimination, most within the past ten years. The feeling that discrimination is serious enough so that more than a few Negroes miss out on good jobs and housing because of it was held by about 70 percent of the Negro sample, although about one out of four tended to de-emphasize the current significance of discrimination as a problem for Negroes.

c. The study found that about a third of the Negro sample saw most whites as well-intentioned, another third saw whites as clearly hostile and repressive, and the remainder saw whites as simply indifferent to the situation of the Negro. There were few age and sex differences on this and related items.

d. A significantly large majority of Negroes interviewed, nearly four out of five, believe it is possible to get ahead "in spite of prejudice and discrimination." The belief that no matter how hard a Negro works he cannot succeed in America was strongest among the less educated, especially among those with less than 12 years of education between 20 and 40 years of age, while faith in success through hard work is most typical among male Negro college graduates.

e. Only about one-fifth of the white sample believed that discrimination causes many Negroes to miss out on good jobs, while two-fifths of the Negro sample held that belief.

f. While nearly two-thirds of whites interviewed were in favor of legislation for equal job opportunity, they were split 50-50 on open housing legislation. (Campbell and Schuman, 1968)

3. In a study dealing with interracial attitudes of Negro youth in Washington, D.C., McDowell found, in agreement with other research on this question, that Negro willingness to associate with whites is "high, higher than we expected," although this willingness to associate was not extended equally to all whites or in all situations, but varied according to "the kinds of whites and the kinds of situations" and previous voluntary informal social contact. (McDowell, 1968)

4. In a further analysis of the effects of childhood interracial experiences in the schools by the National Opinion Research Center, the following conclusions of white adults were suggested:

a. Prior desegregated schooling enhances the probability that white Americans will have had and will continue to have contact with Negro Americans. Conversely, school segregation acts as a cumulative process and makes it less likely that white Americans will experience other types of equal status contact with Negroes as adults.

b. To a lesser extent, prior desegregated schooling enhances the probability that white Americans will express more positive attitudes toward interracial contact and Negro rights.

c. Much, but not all, of the attitude difference associated with prior desegregated or segregated schooling is mediated by having had a close Negro friend.

d. Few consistent differences between the educationally desegregated and segregated can be detected in attitudes toward Negro protest.

These findings suggest that the effects of prior school desegregation upon white Americans run in a reasonably direct fashion from that most closely connected to the interracial experience to that least connected to the experience. That is, childhood contact leads to later contact and to more favorable attitudes toward contact, somewhat less to rejection of racially discriminatory practices, and to little, if any, more positive acceptance of Negro protest. (Pettigrew, 1967)

5. Singer found partial support for the general notion that white children with several years of integrated classroom experience would have a more differentiated view of Negroes than would white children with no such

interracial experience. On her attitude questionnaire, high exposure subjects showed significantly more positive attitudes toward Negroes than did low exposure subjects, as well as a willingness to have greater proximity with Negroes, particularly in terms of personal friendship, and also greater familiarity with and positive feeling for Negro celebrities.

Singer found that Negro students with high exposure to whites had a more differentiated cognitive structure than low exposure students, being more willing to designate white children as "sloppy" and "snobbish," while still holding positive attitudes toward them.

Singer also attempted to study the influence of intelligence in shaping ethnic attitudes, and to ascertain the influence of the interaction between intellectual capacity and interracial proximity. She found that where there is contact with Negroes, I.Q. plays the role of a "sensitizer" and, generally speaking, the higher the I.Q., the more differentiated the response. Where there is no contact, as is the case with low exposure groups, there is nothing–in effect–to differentiate. On the attitude scale, the high-exposure, high I.Q. students were significantly more favorably disposed toward Negroes and foreign nationalities. (Singer, 1967)

6. Dentler and Elkins pointed out that most of the literature on school desegregation argues that under certain social and psychological conditions, desegregation will improve learning, and that, in its most rudimentary forms, the primary thesis of this position is that increased inter-group exposure will enhance academic achievement as well as social learning. In their study of data received from 2,230 Northern metropolitan children in third through sixth grade, Dentler and Elkins found that Negro students, as well as white students, were consistently prejudiced toward disapproval of Negroes and toward biased preference for whites and that this pattern was correlated significantly with school grade level, I.Q., reading achievement, and socio-economic status. White students in white segregated schools expressed less anti-Negro prejudice than pupils in Negro segregated or naturally unsegregated schools. The authors concluded that the educational success of Northern school desegregation efforts will probably depend heavily upon thoughtful and well-planned staff responses to the challenges inherent in a *status quo* situation–changes grounded in restructured community residential patterns, yet permeating the public school. (Dentler and Elkins, 1967)

B. Achievement Motivation

1. Progressive disparity in school achievement is reported by a number of investigators. Clark found that by the third grade, Harlem pupils are one year behind average achievement levels for all New York City pupils, and that by the sixth grade, they have fallen to nearly two years behind, and by the eighth grade they are about two and one-half years behind average New York City levels. Clark found a sharp drop in I.Q. for ghetto children between the third and sixth grades, with a slight improvement by the eighth grade, but still behind where they had been in third grade. Clark believed that these findings strongly suggest that, for Harlem pupils, I.Q. tests reflect the quality of teaching and the resulting educational achievement more than intellectual potential. (Clark, 1965)

2. In his study of the relative influence of school desegregation on pupil academic achievement, McPartland found:

   a. Regardless of the racial composition of the school, the average achievement of Negro students increases with the proportion of their classmates who are white.

   b. Differences in classroom racial composition are associated with smaller increments in achievement for Negro students in mostly Negro schools compared to those in mostly white schools.

   c. When classroom racial composition as well as family background differences are held constant, there is no evidence that the percent white enrolled in the school generally has any appreciable effect on Negro student achievement.

   d. The only group of Negro students for which increases in the percent white enrolled in their school has any noteworthy influence on their academic achievement are those in mostly white classes . . . Negro students who remain in segregated classes receive no benefit in terms of their academic growth from attendance at desegregated schools.

McPartland suggests that desegregation at the classroom level which encompasses the factors having important influences on Negro student academic performance has an apparently beneficial effect on verbal achievement of Negro students regardless of the racial enrollment of the school. (McPartland, 1967)

3. Wilson found that the academic performance and educational aspirations of Negro high school students were affected by the general socio-economic level of the student body of the school they attended. He suggested that since achievement and aspirations are significantly higher for students for all strata in predominantly middle-class schools, it might be desirable to provide such schools for all pupils. Zoning so that school attendance areas not only cross neighborhood lines, but also cross present school district lines may be necessary in many cases. Wilson also implied the need for discovering the "tipping point" beyond which a school becomes predominantly lower-class and supports an ethos which is not conducive to high academic achievement or aspirations. (Wilson, 1959)

4. Jessup attempted to shed light on the question of whether classroom integration itself contributes to the achievement patterns of minority group children. She found that:

   a. Social segregation has the effect of reinforcing a concept of social inferiority and a feeling of rejection among minority group children.

   b. Children exposed to a socially heterogeneous situation are in a position to perceive individual differences within racial or social groups.

   c. Minority group children (and lower class white children) who attend racially and socially mixed schools are in a more favorable developmental situation than those who attend lower-class or segregated schools, and are able to compare themselves with actual individuals, instead of idealized models. They thus are able to develop a sense of personal identification and more realistic sense of self, apart from racial status.

d. Under segregated conditions, the minority group child identifies his social potential with his racial status, while under integrated conditions, he is able to develop a sense of self based upon other dimensions.

e. Low achievement patterns among low status minority group children are noticeably reduced by attendance in an integrated school. This improvement, according to Jessup, appeared to be the result of the more positive self-concept (and perhaps the other changes) that occur in an integrated school situation. (Jessup, 1967)

5. Katz, in reviewing evidence relating to the effects of school desegregation on the academic performance of young Negroes, identified a variety of favorable and detrimental influences on Negro children's performance in desegregated learning situations:

a. Where there is marked discrepancy in the educational standards of Negro and white schools, or where feelings of inferiority are acquired by Negro children outside the school, minority group newcomers in integrated classrooms are likely to have a low expectancy of academic success, resulting in low achievement motivation.

b. Given the prestige and power of the white majority, rejection of Negro classmates should tend to elicit emotional responses (fear, anger, humiliation) that are detrimental to intellectual functioning.

c. Acceptance of Negroes by white peers and adults should have a social facilitation effect upon their ability to learn, by motivating them to adhere to white standards of academic performance; anticipation that high performance will win white approval should endow scholastic success with high-incentive value.

d. In work teams composed of Negro and white students of similar intellectual ability, Negroes are passively compliant, rate their own performance as inferior even when it is not, and express less satisfaction with the team experience than do their white companions. These results are seen as due to social threat, or failure threat.

e. Experimentally creating a verbal-task situation that was low in both social threat and failure threat resulted in better performance by Negroes in the presence of whites than in the presence of other Negroes, suggesting that the incentive value of success was greater in the white environment. But when threat of strong electric shock was introduced, the white setting became less favorable to performance than the Negro one, suggesting that vulnerability to stress was greater in the white condition.

f. Anticipated intellectual comparison with Negro peers was found to produce a higher level of verbal performance than anticipated comparison with white peers.

g. Suppression of hostile impulses appeared to occur in Negro students who were tested by white adults, but not in those who were tested by Negro adults.

On the basis of these findings, Katz developed a series of recommendations which may deserve further consideration at this point:

a. Raising educational standards of Negro schools to the level of white schools, so that minority group children who transfer to previous all-white schools will have a reasonable chance for academic success.

b. Programs for helping parents understand what they can do to prepare children for schooling, and to foster achievement once children are in school.

c. In-service training of teachers and other personnel in newly integrated schools to develop awareness of the emotional needs of children in biracial situations, including the imparting of techniques for helping children to get acquainted with one another.

d. Abandonment of the practice of assigning children to homogeneous ability groups (the track system) or modification to afford maximum opportunity for periodic re-evaluation of potentiality. (Katz, 1964)

C. Desegregation

1. According to a survey completed in the spring of 1967 by the Michigan Department of Education and the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, nearly three of every four Negro students in Michigan attended predominantly Negro schools (those with 60 percent or more of Negro student population). At the same time, *nearly 60 percent of all school buildings in the state have no Negro pupils at all in attendance, and these are attended by approximately six of every ten white pupils in Michigan.* Additional evidence seems to indicate that, because of the sparsity of Negro student population in many schools which do not have predominantly Negro populations, probably as many as 75 percent of all the white children in Michigan public schools have no Negro students in any of their classes at any given time in their school careers. Segregation, de facto or otherwise, does exist in Michigan public schools, as elsewhere, and its effects must be judged to be felt by Negro and white students alike. (Michigan Department of Education, 1967)

2. Perhaps the most significant study regarding the effects of segregation on children (in the public schools) was *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* published by the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1967. Four major findings of fact emerged from the report:

a. Racial isolation in the public schools, whatever its origin, inflicts harm upon Negro students.

b. Racial isolation in the public schools is intense and is growing.

c. Compensatory efforts to improve education for children within racially and socially isolated schools have not been markedly successful.

d. School desegregation remedies have been devised which can improve the quality of education for all children, including:

   (1) Pairing of schools (the "Princeton plan")

   (2) Central schools or educational "parks"

   (3) Closing of racially imbalanced schools

   (4) Reassignment of pupils

   (5) Open enrollment plans (generally recognized as unsuccessful)

   (6) Strategic site selection

   (7) Programs which place Negro youngsters in neighboring suburban schools.

The report suggests that when local and state leadership exerts vigorous leadership, desegregation attempts are likely to prove more successful. Evaluation or programs in Rochester, Boston, and Hartford indicated that procedures to relieve racial isolation through techniques of integration were significantly more successful than programs of compensatory education which required Negro students to remain in their original schools. (Racial Isolation, 1967)

3. In 1965 the Educational Policies Commission (EPC) published an important statement in opposition to de facto segregation in the public schools. The EPC provided a series of significant recommendations:

a. Desegregation of schools should be planned with awareness of its possible consequences and likely effects on the whole community.

b. Where de facto segregation exists, intensive efforts should be made to desegregate the schools.

c. Schools involved in desegregation must have the intensive support of other public and private agencies.

d. Educational funds should be expended with a view to equalizing educational opportunity.

   e. Provision should be made in every school for intensive intercultural activities.

   f. Attendance boundaries should be established in such a way as to avoid the continuance of racial separation.

   g. Interracial experiences should be provided even in places where the population of an entire school district is one race.

   h. Urban renewal should involve housing and school planning in cooperation.

   i. Where it is impossible to desegregate all children, that goal should still be sought for as many as possible.

   j. School staffs should be racially integrated. (Educational Policies Commission, 1965)

4. Weinberg suggested that the major effects of school desegregation include:

   a. Rise in academic achievement, as the minority child learns more and the advantaged child continues at his accustomed rate.

   b. Positive effect on Negro aspirations, already high, lead to rise in self-esteem and self-acceptance.

   c. Toleration, respect, and occasional friendships as chief characteristics of student and teacher relationships inside the school, with relatively little socializing outside the school. (M. Weinberg, 1968)

5. Sullivan stated that "our experience shows that there cannot be quality integration for all children without desegregation," and that as a means for achieving meaningful integration "We must move toward the educational park, in order to enable full use of the modern technology of education, specialized teaching and auxiliary personnel, and cafeteria, recreational, and cultural facilities." He reported that at least eighty-five school districts were actively interested in this approach at that time.

Sullivan further reported on results of partial evaluation of the secondary-school reorganization and integration of Berkely schools:

   a. Both students and faculty who experienced the reorganization have generally accepted it easily. Attitudes toward counselors, school programs, and fellow students of other races are generally increasingly positive as time goes on and the "trauma of change" recedes.

   b. Average grades achieved by new tenth-grade students who experienced the new desegregated seventh and eighth-grade school and desegregated separate ninth-grade campus of the high school were generally better than the average of those who did not.

c. Attendance did suffer temporarily initially, but continued to improve later.

The evaluation of the Berkely program, in which two hundred and fifth Negro students were bused to predominantly white schools, indicated that:

a. Although all target-area children continued to score under national norms in achievement, the bused children made higher gains than those who were not bused and higher gains than the bused children had averaged in the previous years.

b. Receiving-class students, predominantly white, who were in the same classes as the bused children, continued to score high in achievement and to make large gains in their achievement.

c. Attitudes of staff, parents, and students toward the project remained largely favorable.

Sullivan advocates pouring massive amounts of federal, state, local, and private money into ghetto improvements to:

a. Guarantee a minimum economic level for all ghetto residents.

b. Give ghetto residents political power and control over institutions that affect their lives.

c. Develop centers of education, culture, and human services tied into comprehensive community and regional plans that cut across archaic local lines.

d. Prepare all wage-earners for meaningful work through massive job-training and re-training programs. (Sullivan, 1968)

6. Perhaps the most commonly conceived, and politically controversial, approach to school desegregation is found in approaches utilizing pupil transportation, or "busing." Given the fact of residential segregation in most urban and suburban communities, and given the level of resistance to changing "traditional" patterns of school district organization, it seems reasonable to assume that busing might occur more commonly as an approach than some other devices to reduce school segregation.

Experiences differ in various communities, although the majority of the experts appear to give sanction to busing even when approaches to lessen tension among Negro and white students and teachers are not utilized. *Chesler, Wittes, and Radin, however, in evaluating the busing experience of 90 Negro children from Detroit to white suburbs in 1966-1967, concluded that desegregation that is not carefully planned may heighten pre-existing tendencies for racial separation and hostility. They report that children by themselves did not appear to be forming positive interracial relationships and positive attitudes toward racial association, and that with few exceptions, the white youngsters ended the* *school year with the same attitudes toward Negroes that they had held at the beginning, except for some who did question their own pre-conceptions about Negroes.* (Chesler, 1968)

7. In some other communities reports of busing experiences have been more favorable. In Rochester, New York, the district's Coordinator of Planning and Research reports that busing seems to have no adverse effect on either white or Negro children when Negroes are transferred to schools in which they are in the minority. Test data for 25 first graders transferred to white schools in 1965 showed that the achievement of the transferred pupils was approximately equal to, and in some instances higher than, the level of achievement which would be expected had the pupils remained at their original school. (Nation's Schools, February, 1968)

8. In New York City and in St. Louis, busing experiences in the early 1960's were favorably evaluated although limitations were reported. The East Harlem Project reported that, in the majority of cases, children showed dramatic improvement in school work and attendance and renewed vigor and interest in school. The chief problem reported in St. Louis was the tendency of pupils to segregate themselves within classrooms, during lunch periods, in recess periods, and in extracurricular activities. The daily cost for transportation in St. Louis was only 16 cents, while in East Harlem it cost only 10 cents per pupil for transportation. Since only children whose parents had consented in writing were bused, this report was inconclusive as to final recommendations regarding this topic. (Weinberg, 1964)

9. Fischer presented a major argument for educational parks as one solution to problems of school organization for integration. He suggested that the first requirement is that the proportion of white and black students in the school must be educationally acceptable and beneficial to both groups, meaning that the proportion of white students must be high enough to keep them and their parents from feeling overwhilmed and to assure Negro students the advantage of a genuinely integrated environment, and at the same time, the number of Negro students must be large enough to prevent their becoming an odd and isolated minority in a nominally desegregated school. No Negro student should have to "represent his race" in any different sense than his white classmates represent theirs.

Fischer called for schools which possess the capacity, the physical facilities, the staff strength, the leadership, and the flexibility required not only to offer a wide range of programs and services, but also to adapt them to the special circumstances of individual students.

He suggested that another variant of the educational park is a similarly comprehensive organization serving one section of a large city as a single park might serve a smaller town. The capacity of such a park must be calculated so that its attendance area will yield a racially balanced student body for the foreseeable future.

Fischer reported that the Harvard Graduate School of Education, in its 1966 study of Pittsburgh schools, proposed that all high school programs be housed in five new education centers, each of which would serve for the foreseeable future a racially balanced student body. He also reported that East Orange, New Jersey, had recently announced a 15-year construction program to consolidate its 10,000 pupils into such an educational plaza.

Fischer proposed what he calls the most comprehensive type of educational park, the metropolitan school park designed to meet the increasingly serious problems proposed by the growing Negro population of the central cities and the almost wholly white suburbs that surround them, involving ringing the city with the school parks that would enroll a full range of pupils from kindergarten to the high school and possibly including the community college. Each park would be placed in what he calls a "neutral" area near the periphery of the city, and each attendance area would approximate a segment of the metropolitan circle with its apex at the center of the city and its base in the suburbs. He pointed out that since many students would be required to arrive by bus or public carrier, each site should be adjacent to a major transportation route.

Fischer suggested that a center enrolling 16,000 students in a K-4-4-4 organization would enroll 1,000 to 1,300 students at each grade level and could efficiently support and staff not only a wide variety of programs for children at every ordinary level of ability, but could also offer highly specialized offerings for those children with unusual talents or handicaps. An interesting aspect of this proposal is that for the first time, a field unit could justify its own research and development branch, and the faculty could participate in studies of teaching problems and conduct experiments that are currently wholly impractical for even the most competent of teachers.

Fischer indicated that a park accommodating 16,000 pupils could be expected to cost in the neighborhood of fifty million dollars, but that if much new assistance were expressly channeled into creating metropolitan parks, on a 90 percent federal and 10 percent state and local funding, he would envision equalized, integrated schools of high quality in most cities within a period of ten to fifteen years. (Fischer, 1967)

D. Staff Deployment by Race

Perhaps because educational administrators have, often erroneously, believed that surveys of teaching staff to determine racial composition are contrary to fair employment practices legislation or to provisions of civil rights statutes, relatively little accurate information seems to be available concerning staff deployment by race, although many educators assume a positive value for students who have teachers from a variety of racial and cultural backgrounds.

1. The Desegregation Advisory Project in public schools in Wayne County, Michigan, indicated that virtually all nonwhite teachers were employed in districts having nonwhite pupils, and there was a virtual absence of nonwhite teachers in districts having a substantial majority of white students. This pattern may be assumed as reasonably typical of the majority of urban-suburban patterns across the country, although experience has indicated a greater willingness on the part of a very few school administrators in some predominantly white districts to "stick their necks out" in recent years.

Federal guidelines for southern school desegregation did not require staff desegregation until 1965, and information in this field relates primarily to *attempts to eliminate Negro teachers from public school systems in the South, and the virtual elimination of Negro school principals (there are no superintendents) in school districts where substantial desegregation has taken place.* Major studies of displacement of Negro teachers and principals by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and by the National Education Association are now under way.

Where teacher desegregation has taken place in southern schools, experience to date has generally indicated the desirability of placing more than one minority teacher in the target schools, so that the teachers will be able to relate to, and find support from, each other in situations which are often perceived as hostile. This experience provides a major guideline for school districts in the North which are employing nonwhite teachers for the first time. (Desegregation Advisory Project, 1965)

2. Goodlad suggests that the nongraded school and cooperative (team) teaching offer procedures for adjusting learning tasks upward or downward without destroying the age-group propinquity most boys and girls seem to seek and need and for providing the essential flexibility involved. He believes that the problem lies not with educational parks as such but with their likelihood of perpetuating grouping and grading practices that generally characterize our schools, practices which segregate the slow-learning child. He states,

> "If educational parks are to accomplish their commendable mission and avoid resegregation in ostensibly desegregated schools, they must move vigorously to certain new practices now being recommended, practices designed to overcome inequities in educational opportunity through concern for human variability and individuality."

Goodlad believes that the combination of nongrading and team teaching is particularly powerful in educational parks, since the very size of such institutions would provide an endless array of alternative ways to set up clusters of teachers and students which at the same time take on their own identity and provide a school within a school to offset the dangers of anonymity in the large school setting. (Goodlad, 1967)

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IV.
COMPENSATORY EDUCATION

One of the most hard-fought, and significant, issues in education today has to do with the allocation of educational priorities in the direction of compensatory education as opposed to equivalent support for integration and/or desegregation of schools as a means for overcoming educational deficiencies within our public educational system. Advocates of each position have lined up persons with authority and prestige on their side, and have often failed to listen carefully to the arguments of their opponents.

A. Fantini and Weinstein state that "massive intervention programs" (compensatory education) consist of studying a child's deficiencies and rehabilitating the child to fit the standard educational process rather than revising the educational process to fit the needs and purposes of the child. A series of proposals by Fantini:

1. Any fruitful strategy for real educational reform must deal with education from early childhood through college.
2. Major redistribution of power is needed with greater participation of the agents closest to the child.
3. Teachers should have a decision-making role, and engage in continuous planning in teams that include college specialists.
4. Establish new educational career patterns and sub-professional careers (paraprofessionals).
5. Parents become partners in the planning and operation of the schools.
6. Career-oriented education is needed with more relevant curricula.
7. Provide computer-assisted diagnosis of learning problems.
8. School systems should be on-the-job training grounds for principals, counselors, teachers, and sub-professionals.
9. Adopt innovations, such as upgrading, programmed instruction, group counseling, independent study, which stimulate intellectual *competition with self.*
10. Coordinate Head Start programs with the regular school system.
11. Increase cooperation between schools and universities.

12. Reform college admission policies.

13. Establish community school programs. (Fantini & Weinstein, 1967)

Fantini sees a continuum of five basic approaches to intervention, including compensatory education, desegregation, model subsystems, parallel systems, and total system reform. He points out that, with the exception of compensatory education, these are largely untried concepts, although the few existing examples (model subsystems, for example) may be sufficient in number to provide a basis for examining the likelihood of success or failure.

Fantini believed that compensatory education, characterized by such efforts as the Great Cities Programs, ESEA Title I, New York City's early Higher Horizons Program, and AFT's More Effective Schools (MES) program, seek to attack a spectrum of defects in the learner (verbal retardation, lack of motivation, and experimental and sensory deprivation) that presumably prevent his participation in the learning process. For this reason, compensatory education, in Fantini's opinion, is "a prescription that deals with symptoms, with strengthened doses that have been ineffective before–more trips, more remedial readings, etc.–without real differences."

Fantini stated that enormous effort, ingenuity, and funds have been invested in compensatory education, but the evidence gathered to date from even the best efforts indicates that they are having little significant impact on the problems of low achievement among disadvantaged children.

Desegregation. Fantini called for a broadening of the goals of integration to restore a quality that has been sidetracked in the emphasis on the goal of educational desegregation; a reaffirmation of our commitment to connect with one another as human beings. Since, in most urban settings, Fantini said, integration has proved exclusive if not impossible, and since the only possible plan for achieving integration in many large cities–metropolitan integration across present school district boundaries–is politically unfeasible, new approaches may be necessary. *He suggested that militant Negro demands for participation in control of public education is actually a means for greater connection to society, precisely opposite from the connotations of separatism usually associated with "black power."*

Model Subsystems. Fantini suggested that the trend toward this mode of intervention in public schools may have started with a report by a panel headed by Jerrold Zacharias to the United States Commissioner of Education in March, 1964, which led to the creation of a model subsystem (pilot schools) in Washington, D.C., public schools. At about the same time, the Syracuse schools, in their Madison Avenue Project, and later Boston, created subsystems in a deliberate attempt to provide the total system with a development and training conduit for successful innovative practices. Three experimental school clusters in Manhattan, including the Intermediate School 201 complex, offer recent and visible instances of model subsystems in a large urban establishment, which differ from earlier subsystems in that they are governed by community-based boards, although they must seek ultimate approval on any number of basic decisions from the central Board of Education in New York City. These systems, if successful, represent a major breakthrough in the problem of restoring the control of public education systems to the people they serve.

In New York City, according to Fantini, New York University, Teachers College, and Yeshiva University have "adopted" single schools or clusters of schools. The Adams-Morgan School in Washington is being assisted by Antioch College, which is also seeking to adopt schools in Philadelphia and in Dayton, Ohio. Fantini sees community agencies, research and development centers, the Peace Corps and Vista, private industry, and the professions as possible sources of new talent and ideas introduced through model subsystems.

Parallel Systems. Fantini suggests that proposals for parallel systems assume that if the poor or others cannot reform our system of public education, they should at least be provided options to it. Precedents for such schools exist in southern Freedom Schools, most notably the Prince Edward Free School Association initiated by President Kennedy after the closing of public schools in Prince Edward County, Virginia, and in some northern counterparts, such as Harlem's Academies of Transition and the New School for Children in Boston's Roxbury section. Urban League-sponsored street academies, according to Fantini, are reportedly sending more than 75 percent of their students, hard-core rejects from the public school system, to college. One very interesting proposal for a special hybrid–a publicly-financed but totally independent school system in Harlem apart from the regular New York City system, with a per-capita budget received directly from the state–was offered in 1967 by the Harlem chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Although the New York State Legislature failed to approve the proposal, plans to pursue this concept are continuing. The three existing community school complexes in New York City are in some respects outgrowths of this proposal.

Total System Reform. Fantini states that since the compensatory approach has failed, since desegregation is not a realistic short-range prospect, since model subsystems do not give much evidence yet of realizing their promise, and since parallel systems are basically an avoidance of the challenge to reform the schools where most children will continue to be educated, the latest and, in his view, most promising approach to intervention is reform of the total school system, structurally and otherwise. He suggests varied approaches:

1. New leadership for the system as a whole, while leaving the systems form and structure intact, as in Philadelphia, where a reform-minded school board and new superintendent are attempting to infuse new staff and new styles.

2. Reorganization of the system into quasi-autonomous districts (i.e., decentralization). In Washington, D.C., the Passow Report recommended a total system reform by decentralizing the system into eight subsystems of approximately equal size.

3. Merger of school systems with entirely different political jurisdictions, such as the city of Louisville and Jefferson County, Kentucky. In this case the new metropolitan system was to consist of a number of subdistricts, each with considerable autonomy and yet federated into a single system to preserve the best of the worlds of bigness and smallness. Fantini and Weinstein, 1967)

B. Bloom, Davis, and Hess present a series of proposals for compensatory education to counter the effects of cultural deprivation among younger children:

1. Each child should be assured of an adequate breakfast to help him begin the learning tasks of the day. Each child should also be assured of a mid-day meal. If these meals cannot be provided by the home, they should be provided by the school or the community in such a way that no child feels a sense of shame or special distinction.

2. Each child should be given appropriate and frequent physical examinations by nurses, doctors, and dentists to determine special needs with respect to fatigue, disease, and dental, visual, and hearing problems. If these health services cannot be provided by the parents, it is the responsibility of the school and community to see that they are taken care of.

3. No child should be subjected to feelings of inadequacy and shame because of lack of necessary clothing. If these needs cannot be provided by the parents, it is the responsibility of the school and community to see that each child is adequately clothed.

4. Nursery schools and kindergartens should be organized to provide culturally deprived children with the conditions for their intellectual development and the learning-to-learn stimulation which is found in the most favorable home environments.

   Such nursery schools and kindergartens should be very different from the nursery schools and kindergartens commonly used for middle-class children. These nursery schools and kindergartens must systematically provide for the intellectual development of the child. Much learning can take place through games, concrete materials (blocks, toys, objects), and dramatic play. The adult teachers must provide a supportive structured environment in which being read to, music, and art are enjoyable social experiences for the children. Specifically, the primary task of these nursery schools and kindergartens should be to provide for:

   a. Stimulation of children to perceive aspects of the world about them and to fix these aspects by the use of language.

   b. Development of more extended and accurate language.

   c. Development of a sense of mastery over aspects of the immediate environment and an enthusiasm for learning for its own sake.

   d. Development of thinking and reasoning and the ability to make new insights and discoveries for oneself.

   e. Development of purposive learning activity and the ability to attend for longer periods of time.

5. A national commission composed of teachers and other specialists should be created to coordinate and develop curricular guidelines, materials, and methods for this special type of nursery school-kindergarten.

6. The teachers for this new type of nursery school-kindergarten should be carefully trained for the very specific set of tasks they must assume, to do for children what very good parents can do for their own children.

7. The parents must be sufficiently involved in the nursery school-kindergarten to understand its importance for their child and to give support and reinforcement to the tasks of these special schools. The parents should be so committed to this type of school that they are willing to do everything possible to insure the continuity of the child's school experiences.

8. Evidence should be obtained on each child at the beginning of the first grade to determine the levels he has reached with regard to perceptual development, language development, ability to attend, and motivation for learning.

9. In each school, there should be a number of approaches to introductory learning, and each child should be placed in the approach which is most appropriate for him.

10. The emphasis in the first three years of elementary school should be on the development of each child with careful evaluation records of his progress toward clear-cut tasks and goals. In these years, the child should not be failed or expected to repeat a grade or year. The careful sequential development of each child must be one of continual success at small tasks.

11. A national commission of teachers and other specialists should be created to coordinate and to develop the curricular guidelines, materials, and methods for the first three years of elementary school for culturally deprived children. This commission should develop several alternative approaches to the problem and should evaluate the effectiveness of such curricula.

12. The teaching staff for the first three years of schools should be carefully selected and should have many opportunities for in-service education on the curriculum problems of these years. They should be so organized that they can provide continuity and sequential development for each child. They should regard their central task as helping each child master the fundamental skills in language, reading, and arithmetic as well as develop a general skill in learning itself.

13. Since the home is so important in the work of the schools—especially in the elementary school period—every effort must be made to strengthen

the relation between the home and the school. Parents must be involved in such a way that they can understand the importance of this level of schooling and so that they can provide support and reinforcement for the learning tasks of the school. Both teachers and parents must come to understand the ways in which the learning progress of all children is a dual task involving home and school.

14. For culturally disadvantaged children who have not had the benefits of a revised curriculum in the first years of school there should be an all-out effort to halt the cumulative deficits in learning achievement at the later grades. While this is likely to be increasingly difficult as the child gets older, every resource should be available to teachers at these levels. If it is necessary to sacrifice some aspects of the curriculum in order to bring these children to higher levels of achievement, the emphasis should be on language development of the child, reading, and arithmetic.

15. Especially in the early years of school, all children must learn under the most positive set of human interactions. Where possible, teachers should be chosen because of their ability to help young children and because they can be warm and supportive to all children.

16. Integration will contribute most effectively to better attitudes and relations when there are a great variety of ways in which children of both races engage in common activities on a one-to-one basis, but will have little effect on cognitive learning unless the basic learning needs of the children are met by appropriate sequential patterns of learning experiences.

17. With very rapid changes in the civil rights movement and its effect on occupational opportunities, Negro students must have up-to-date occupational information. Also, they will need more educational and vocational guidance than other students. It is recommended that, beginning with secondary school, Negro students have periodic interviews with capable guidance workers who thoroughly understand the current occupational picture. Such guidance workers should also have job placement functions for these students.

18. A major effort must be made to identify, by the beginning of secondary education, a sizeable group of deprived students who can, with appropriate continual effort on the part of the school, be enabled to complete secondary education successfully and begin higher education. These students must be offered special instructional programs, tutorial help as needed, increased counseling, and help on the basic skills and tool subjects (for example, Higher Horizons Project, New York City).

19. Culturally disadvantaged adolescents who are having great difficulty with the regular school curricula should have a school program which emphasizes the basic skills of language and reading, and they should be permitted to specialize in an area in which they are especially suited.

20. For these youth, there should be work-study plans in which students can learn in relation to the work. This requires very effective cooperation between schools, industry and public agencies.

21. For all youth, and especially for the culturally disadvantaged youth, there should be peer societies which have continuity over the age period 14-19 and which provide opportunities for social relations, service to others, and the development of meaningful value patterns. Such peer societies may be organized by appropriate community agencies with the cooperation of the schools. (Bloom, Davis and Hess, 1965)

C. Cohen suggests that the arguments for assigning high priority to compensation and low priority to desegregation rest upon these related judgments: (1) that, for the time being at least, the political climate is unfavorable to any efforts to desegregate public schools; (2) that desegregation, especially in the older and larger cities, is unfeasible from a demographic, fiscal, and administrative point of view, and that the intergovernmental arrangements and the costs of busing and/or school construction simply would not be supported; and (3) that the belief that desegregation in any event is not appropriate, since the problem of racial disharmony is not nearly so acute as the problem of Negro underachievement which is a result of cumulative environmental deprivation which requires improved education, not racial mixing.

Cohen states that the More Effective Schools Program in New York City is the only compensatory program known to have made serious efforts in this direction. The MES Program, a significant departure in compensatory education, raised per-pupil expenditures from $457 in 1964 to $946 in 1965, and would require, if MES were to be made national policy, a nine-fold increase in the annual Title I ESEA outlay for instruction from about 60 to 500 dollars per pupil–an increase from $.5 billion to $3.5 billion. The cost for college training which would be required to generalize present MES staffing levels to a national scale would be about $2.3 billion, and required new school construction would cost roughly $6 billion. Cohen reported that the cost of generalizing the main elements of the existing MES program to a national scale in the next five years would require a minimum average annual cost between five and six billion dollars. *Cohen asserts that there is no evidence that such a policy would change the relative position of advantaged and disadvantaged students, since students in the MES schools after two years exhibited the classical pattern of academic retardation.* Cohen states that students' higher performance in interracial classrooms is specifically related to the schools' interracial climate, since Negro and white students with little or no reported interracial tension perform at higher levels than similarly situated students in schools where considerable tension is reported. He also reports that white students accepted in predominantly Negro schools perform at lower levels than those who are not, and that, just as *acceptance in a predominantly white school facilitates Negro performance, acceptance in a predominantly Negro milieu has a depressing effect upon white performance, and, therefore, this evidence points to "specifically racial conditions" which affect achievement. Cohen states that compensatory programs institutionalize segregation and compound racism in a number of important ways, especially since, by definition, compensation maintains* *segregation in schools, and thus maintains institutions which produce racist and separatist attitudes and behavior.* Further, such programs create ever larger bureaucracies with vested interests in the maintenance of compensation, and thus segregation, and support a local tendency to build more segregated white and Negro schools. Cohen feels that if large quantities of new Federal funds are made available for compensation, even if none are allocated specifically for construction, they would lend enormous support to the tendency toward replacement of neighborhood schools, thus creating huge capital investments in segregation. (Cohen, 1968)

D. Goldberg suggests that two generally recognized causes of academic retardation of the disadvantaged impede the child's functioning in the academic setting: (1) that the school and the teacher are responsible for nonlearning, because the first has no expectation of learning and the second fails to teach; and (2) that the disharmony between the school's expectations and those of the lower-class family and neighborhood, together with early deficits in experiences, impedes the child's functioning in the academic setting. She suggests that because experimental evidence is not available to judge the effectiveness of many of the methods or materials available, "goodness of fit" with social-psychological research-based theory should be used as the basis for selection of programs falling under seven major categories:

1. extending the child's contact with the cultural mainstream
2. motivating children to achieve the academic and social skills required for community acceptance
3. compensating for cognitive deficiencies through early planning intervention
4. developing more adequate language patterns
5. enhancing self-concept
6. teaching reading
7. individualizing instruction.

Goldberg poses eight propositions which to her appear to characterize successful approaches with the disadvantaged, although many of them also characterize good learning situations for pupils of all backgrounds:

1. Each pupil's status in each learning area has to be ascertained, while making no assumptions about the child's prior knowledge derived from home or neighborhood experiences.
2. Each pupil merits respect as a person. The teachers must not show by word, look, or gesture that the child's inability to perform adequately or his lack of comprehension of even the most rudimentary concepts is shocking or disturbing.

3. All procedures need to be paced in accordance with the pupil's speed of learning, with no assumptions made that he has grasped what has been taught until he is able to demonstrate his grasp over and over again in a variety of contexts.

4. The learning situation needs to have a high degree of structure and consistency.

5. The learning situation should provide a maximum of positive reinforcement and minimum of negative reinforcement.

6. Classroom as well as after-school learning activities should provide as much one-to-one teacher-pupil learning contact as possible.

7. Materials should be related to the world of the learner but not limited to his immediate environment.

8. Although the school must start with the learner where he is, its responsibility is to enable him to move as far as he can go, which is often much further than he himself regards as his limits. (Goldberg, 1967)

E. Eisenberg reports that the Harlem Project in New York City, after putting extra service into a high school for a three-year period, made it possible to lift the group I.Q. ten points, to triple the number of graduates, and to double the number who went on to take some further type of education. He believes that the behaviors the inner city child displays are not entirely inside him, but emerge in response to the setting and values we supply and that there is a way to alter what comes out in the presence of what one might call an educational or therapeutic environment. (Eisenberg, 1967)

F. Passow differentiated between approaches for prevention and development rather than those which are compensatory and remedial, and makes proposals for compensatory education based on overcoming experiential and cognitive defects through a total program approach, not by patching up.

Passow outlines an instructional context that is compensatory in nature, patterning strategies and adapting materials for directly teaching skills and behaviors to children whose experiences have not previously stimulated such growth. He calls for re-examining the value of real problem-solving and decision-making experiences, possibly along the lines of the Citizenship Education Project approach, and a re-examination of vocational education and its orientation programs, perhaps including extensive use of voluntary services and subsidized work experiences. (Passow, 1967)

G. In his evaluation of the Philadelphia Education Improvement Project (EIP), Cline reports that the relative impact of the desegregated experiences of Negro children in integrated-majority-white schools is greatest for the top quarter of students in those schools, but that desegregation cannot be considered a universally significant factor in the lives of these children, because they do not maintain their position with respect to grade level expectations over the years. Cline reports that it is in the group of lowest performing children in all the schools in this study that the lack of impact of the EIP and the busing programs became apparent. Children undergoing compensatory programs without desegregation, desegregated programs without special educational programs, or neither of these, are almost indistinguishable over the course of their grade school experience. Apparently, children with serious educational problems need more than either desegregation or compensatory programs, although it is clear that desegregation is one of the ingredients required for better performance. Cline concluded that:

1. There is little evidence that the EIP was achieving its goals of raising the reading performance of the children involved.

2. There is evidence that children from the same economic and educational environment as the EIP children, but who were bused to predominantly white schools, increased their rate of development in reading over time and were significantly better in achievement than the EIP children, despite the fact that both groups were at the same level of reading achievement at the end of the first grade.

3. All Negro children in the study were losing ground, although those with desegregated experiences were generally losing ground at a slower rate. Neither high original levels of achievement nor intensive compensatory programs were adequate to the task of saving these children from academic failure.

4. It appears from the data that integration tends to free the potential for educational growth in many children whereas segregation tends to restrict that potential.

Cline finds, in his study of the Madison Avenue Project in Syracuse, New York, little difference between the impact of compensatory programs and desegregated experiences for the lowest quarter of students in reading achievement, while in all cases Negro children in both groups fall further behind city norms as they progress through the grades with the rate of decline greater among the children attending racially isolated schools than among desegregated schools. (Cline, 1967)

H. By way of contrast, Philadelphia school investigators report that the education of the schools which had the EIP was truly improved, but that the improvements appear to be greater for the first groups in the program than for latter groups, with the implication that improvement in reading and arithmetic skills can be achieved through smaller class size and individualized instruction. A number of observers report, incidentally, that while it seems to be relatively easier to find in less economically well-off communities innovative projects which seem to demonstrate significant gains in achievement by disadvantaged children, these gains most often are not maintained over an adequate period of time to be recognized for the contributions they may represent. This finding points out a continuing need for investigation of the variables which cause promising programs to decline in value after a short period of use. (Rosica, *Nations Schools,* 1968)

I. Dyer reports three studies conducted prior to the Coleman Report which tend to support and/or indicate that the nature of the school program does affect achievement. Mollenkopf and Melville find four characteristics which show relatively high relationships with test scores: geographical location, cost of instructional support per pupil, urbanism, and the number of specialists on the school staff. Goodman agreed with Mollenkopf and Melville that per-pupil expenditure and amount of special staffing were associated significantly with achievement, although they disagree as to how much importance should be attached to teacher experience. Goodman found this to be the school characteristic most strongly associated with pupil performance, while Mollenkopf and Melville found its importance negligible. As to the question as to whether schools are differentially effective, Shaycroft finds statistically significant variation among schools in all but two of 42 gains tests on such course offerings as literature, advanced mathematics, art, accounting, and electricity. Shaycroft concluded that the quality of schooling does make a genuine difference in pupil growth, although the data do not tell us how pronounced the differential effects are or how far one may go in attributing differences in school effectiveness to the variations in the qualities of the schools *per se.* Dyer suggested that the nearly exclusive use of verbal ability as the measure of pupil achievement in the Coleman analysis probably makes for an underestimate of the importance of other factors that schools in fact do control. (Dyer, 1968)

J. Coleman finds that the magnitudes of differences between schools attended by Negroes and those attended by whites are: *least,* facilities and curriculum; *next,* teacher quality; *and greatest,* educational backgrounds of fellow students. (Coleman, 1966)

K. The literature seems to indicate only one program of compensatory education which appears to have been consistently successful: the Banneker Project in St. Louis, Missouri. In the project, Dr. Samuel Shepard, an assistant superintendent for the low-income Banneker district of St. Louis, was apparently responsible in raising the general achievement level of his Negro pupils to the national norms for white children, and in some schools, raised attendance levels above those for predominantly white schools in St. Louis.

Most of the variables in this remarkable achievement appear to be largely attributable to the personality and purpose of Shepard himself. Shepard arranged to have used dictionaries, about to be discarded by the schools, sold to the families in his district for 25 cents each. Schools were decorated with colorful posters, with such motivational slogans as "READING IS THE KEY THAT OPENS ALL LOCKS," and "THERE'S A PLACE FOR YOU IN THE COMMUNITY–IF YOU'RE PREPARED." Shepard spoke night after night to parents, and got them to sign a "Pledge of Cooperation." He sent his teachers on a series of home visits, inaugurated field trips to radio and television studios, the planetarium, the zoo, the museums, parks, and city markets, and organized teams of successful St. Louis Negroes to make the rounds of the Banneker schools telling their stories. Every child had a library card, and programs in reading for advanced students, and for the gifted in mathematics, science, music and art, were established.

In 1957-1958, when St. Louis adoped its track system, 47 percent of the Banneker students were below average and only 7 percent were in the top track. In 1964, only 11 percent were in the low division, and 22 percent were superior. No other enrichment or intervention program seems to be capable of claiming such a level of success. (Friggens, 1964)

Comment

Except for the Banneker Project, the writers have failed to uncover any program of compensatory education in existence, including the More Effective Schools Program of New York City, which offers demonstrable potential over an extended period of time for significant improvement in pupil achievement and as a means for building values in the direction of better human relations. One must admit, however, that this does not mean that no such program may be possible. Certainly, in isolated instances and over relatively short periods of time, programs have been established that seem to break through the pathology which seems common to many disadvantaged children, and especially those with the added handicap of race in a society which has not yet learned to be color-blind in meeting its responsibilities to children.

Many observers have suggested that statistics about the Negro family are misleading; that there are many families which are stable and cohesive under seemingly impossible odds; and that we need to determine those variables which contribute to the stability and cohesiveness in order to build programs to strengthen Negro family structure. In the same sense, it is obvious that there are teachers who are successful in their teaching in the slums; there are schools which offer islands of promise despite seemingly impossible conditions; and there are children whose success in the face of overwhelming handicaps challenges every one of our traditional assumptions about "deprived" and "disadvantaged" children. These instances continue to remind us that there are conditions which bring about these successes, and that continued research is essential so that we may establish those variables which can provide more equal educational opportunity for all of our children.

The overwhelming body of evidence indicates that some form of desegregation of schools and classrooms will be necessary to make continuing progress in increasing student achievement in the provision of compensatory educational programs. Patterns of school district reorganization are available which, if put into effect, can provide that essential ingredient. Additional study will apparently be required to provide us with evidence as to means for successfully attacking the broad range of problems brought about, and intensified by discrimination and lack of equal opportunity in our society.

Any discussion of racial isolation by definition involves a wide variety of factors–overcoming the effects of social and cultural deprivation and of economic discrimination, changing attitudes of people, motivating for change, confrontation approaches, improvement of self-concept, staff integration, compensatory education, and so forth.

The extent of the evidence available regarding the educational consequences to members of minority groups–and especially black people–in the United States because of our traditional practices of discrimination and segregation–our racism, institutional and otherwise–emphasizes the necessity for immediate steps to implement programs, including compensatory education, to combat the causes and the effects of racial isolation.

L. One of the landmark efforts in the field was conducted by the National Education Association and its Task Force on Human Rights during 1967 and 1968. (NEA, 1968)

While many of the general recommendations of the task Force were designed for implementation by NEA and its affiliates, and while each of them involves many more specific recommendations, their comprehensiveness and relevance to the discussion of racial isolation and compensatory education merits the inclusion of some of them here:

Teacher Education

1. More prospective teachers must be recruited from minority groups.
2. Experienced teachers must be provided with skills in human relations and in teaching minority group children–and with the opportunity to keep these skills up to date.
3. Further research on (teaching) methods must be conducted.
4. Future teachers must be specifically trained in human relations, and develop healthy attitudes toward themselves and their students.
5. Future teachers must have the opportunity to learn the specific skills they will need to work with minority-group children, and prospective teachers for predominantly minority-group locations must be recruited and given special training.

Integration

6. All systems in locations with significant minority-group populations must have total integration of faculties.
7. In locations where there are no significant minority-group populations, a composition of the faculty that will give students an opportunity to become acquainted with members of other cultural groups is a necessity.
8. Integration must work both ways.
9. Integration must extend beyond the classroom.
10. Where thorough integration of student bodies is impracticable, students must be given the opportunity to experience integrated situations.
11. Local governments and school authorities must act to eliminate de facto school segregation.

Curriculum

12. The curriculum must prepare students to be self-sufficient and productive in a technological, competitive, and multi-cultural society.

13. The schools must obtain suitable staff for the provision of quality education.

14. The education profession must assume its responsibility to ensure the use of appropriate teaching materials, including tests, in every school.

School Policies

15. Working conditions must be made such as to attract talented people into preparation for and acceptance of teaching positions in lactions where much of the population is disadvantaged.

16. Teachers must promote the human rights of students.

17. Schools must respect the practices and prohibitions of the religious groups represented in the student body and arrange for student discussion or the relation between religious respect and the provision of human rights.

Community

18. Programs must be established that will provide for real community involvement and will create in the community a feeling of investment in and responsibility for the operation of the schools.

19. Individual educators must begin now to establish cooperation between the school and the community.

20. Educators should take immediate action . . . to improve conditions in their communities.

21. Research and experimental programs should be conducted to determine the most effective means of establishing good community-school relations.

In addition, program recommendations of the NEA Task Force on Human Rights called for educators to:

1. Formulate a package plan which will give guidance to schools and teachers in solving the most prevalent problems of education in the inner city.

2. Design an ideal inner-city school and put it into operation.

3. Investigate and evaluate proposals and projects which provide an equitable share of responsibility for school decision making to the

Indian, the Mexican-American, and the Negro communities, and support those judged practicable and educationally sound.

4. Establish or designate an agency to identify and encourage use of effective multi-ethnic teaching materials.
5. Vigorously encourage government to promote effective integration throughout the nation.
6. Act wherever there is need to end de facto and de jure and community segregation.
7. Apply [NEA] sanctions to any agency that infringes the rights of children or school personnel.
8. Deny [NEA] membership to any teacher or administrator who is found to have withheld human rights from students, or staff members by action, inaction, or pattern of speech.
9. Encourage initiation, passage, and adequate funding of legislation on all levels that will improve education and increase recognition of human rights in education.
10. Assume responsibility for guiding federal programs in the direction that will most improve the education provided America's students.
11. Provide advice and instruction to [NEA] affiliates and school systems in obtaining federal grants.
12. Demand . . . a full share in the development of all school policies affesting the educational program and the conditions under which teachers render professional service.
13. Clearly establish the goals and standards of the education profession in order to create in educators a sense of their professional accountability.
14. Urge the introduction and passage of legislation that will secure the professional rights and improve the professional standards of educators.
15. Continue and extend defense of the civil and human rights of educators.
16. Use litigation to attack infringements of human rights.
17. Conduct workshops on human and intergroup relations, and on group dynamics.
18. Use professional journals in education as one means of fulfilling the responsibility for informing educators about human rights, and human relations.

19. Sponsor research projects designed to obtain the knowledge necessary for the provision of appropriate education and make the results available to teachers.

20. Establish cooperative relationships with other groups concerned with education.

21. Design and carry out projects that will inform the public about what human rights are and how they can be secured.

(NEA, 1968)

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V.
SCHOOL WORKING WITH OTHER AGENCIES

A. Decentralized Lay Boards of Education

1. The Washington, D.C., Board of Education in 1967 turned over to Antioch College and an elected community school board the operation of one of its most dilapidated ghetto elementary schools, the Morgan School. The school is located in a neighborhood known as "Adams Morgan," two miles north of the White House. The area contains or includes Negroes living in poverty, Negroes with middle incomes, remnants of the old white Washington society known as "cliff-dwellers," and young white couples–most of them with children–who began moving into restored houses in the neighborhood about five years ago.

The elected community school board, the Community School Council, consists of eleven Negro and four white Board members. Seven of the members are parents with children in the Morgan School, three are community residents over 25 without children, three are teenagers, and two are teachers. The School Council is jointly responsible with Antioch College for "all major policy decisions."

Problems have occurred. The relationship between the community school board and the central Board of Education was not clearly defined. There has been a split in the community over just what kind of program the school should offer.

> "The young white intellectuals and the long-time Negro residents both want a better education for their children, but they do not always agree on how to achieve that nebulous goal. There are tensions on the community school board, between Negro matriarchs and young Negro teachers (e.g., older residents disapprove of the sandals, long hair, and miniskirts worn by many members of the teaching staff). Parents in attendance at the community school board meetings have fallen off to just a few (20-30) for the public meetings. A lack of experienced teachers have contributed to tensions on the staff."

On the positive side, window breakage and vandalism are at an all-time low. The community school board is becoming more effective as its political and educational sophistication increases. Foundation representatives were reported to have been extremely impressed and have indicated they would rather channel any money through the board rather than Antioch.

> It is, of course, too soon to tell what the outcome of the Morgan experiment will be. One thing is clear: to be termed a "success," the Morgan School will have to make long-term improvements in the academic achievement of its students as well as in relations between the school and the community. The Antioch staff members are very

> much aware that the parents expect to see progress in conventional terms such as improved performance on standardized reading tests. For despite their vast imperfections, the tests are one concrete measure of the gap that separates education in the Negro ghetto from education in middle-class white America.
>
> If the Adams-Morgan experiment does succeed, the schools will almost certainly be reintegrated by whites who live in the area. Enrollment at the Morgan School, currently about 95 percent, was entirely Negro last year. Some white parents entered their children this year as a demonstration of their faith that the experiment will succeed. (Jacoby, 1968)

2. "A strong plan of decentralized administration of the city's school system is essential to the attainment of quality education for all the youth of the city." New York State Education Commissioner James E. Allen Jr., explains the purpose of the so-called Regents' Bill for Decentralization. Supporters of the bill indicate that the bill will protect the tenure and rights of teachers. Opponents of the bill warn of chaos with teachers "shopping around" for jobs in the easier, or middle-class schools, with declining standards and the possibility of influence peddling and vendettas.

Perhaps the most persuasive aspect of decentralization is that it places a premium on community responsibility and greatly reduces the opportunity to blame the "power structure" for local failure. (*New York Times,* 1968)

The Ocean Hill-Brownsville district is one of three special units set up in 1967 as experiments in school decentralization. (The others are the Intermediate School 201 complex in Harlem and the Two Bridges model district on the lower East Side.) The purpose of the experiment is to test community control of neighborhood schools as a means of bringing out educational improvement. Current conflicts between the community board and the vested power groups of the city, however, leaves the future of this program in jeopardy.

(*New York Times,* 1968)

B. Other Approaches

1. Tannenbaum suggests that other agencies and groups should support and supplement those actions that the school can take, including:

   a. Compensatory and remedial instruction.

   b. Reduction of the barrier between home and school.

   c. Intensive guidance procedures, and

   d. Improved vocational preparation.

Some of the radical and occasionally bizarre proposals pouring into federal agencies on how to deal with the problem sometimes seem inadequately conceived but are worth mentioning because they may also contain some wisdom. The following samples are currently on record:

   a. Offer job counseling as early as kindergarten and the elementary grades.

   b. Grant low-income families a $3,000 annual stipend for the duration of their children's attendance in high school, if the parents also attend school to upgrade their skills.

   c. Send poorly motivated dropouts abroad or to appropriate parts of the country where their special interests can receive maximum attention.

   d. Reduce the present 500 to 1 student-counselor ratio to 50 to 1 by offering course credit to selected college students who work with dropouts and potential dropouts.

   e. Set up shipboard schools for unmotivated students by overhauling part of the Navy's "mothball fleets" so that they can travel while they study.

   f. Offer remedial study vacations where the potential dropout can prepare for the season just as the baseball player goes to early spring training for the baseball season.

   g. As an alternative to military duty, draft dropouts into "youth campus" service, a combination of vocational education and practical work experience. (Tannenbaum, 1967)

2. Oliver C. Moles suggests some strategies which might be employed to help low-income parents and children in the immediate area of education.

   a. Poor parents often lack an adequate education. Literacy programs and classes in basic communications skills can do much more than simply make people more productive and economically independent. Recent national figures suggest that the breadwinner's education is an even stronger factor than family income in predicting which children will drop out of school. Better educated and more self-confident parents can do a much better job of stimulating the intellectual development of their children.

   b. The pre-school years can be a period of rapid intellectual growth. In order to assist parents, the provision of kindergartens, Operation Headstart, and for younger children, nurseries and day care centers for working mothers can be very useful. Here verbal comprehension can be expanded and middle-class language introduced. Even if there is no formal educational program, a variety of new learning experiences can be provided to compensate for some of the deficits of early training. As children demonstrate their competence and learn new skills from supportive teachers, their need for achievement may be strenghened.

Those who have been pushed by parents to excel or who suffer from psychological defects of course cannot be helped much by this approach. Where mothers can serve as aides the transfer of learning to home situations should be increased.

c. Children from the lower classes are more apt to need additional incentives to maintain interest in school and school work. The use of tangible short-term rewards has been shown to increase both intelligence and need for achievement scores. If rewards are valued by the student's peer group they stand an even better chance of improving his educational performance. The lack of adequate school clothes and money for ordinary school activities experienced by many children from low-income families strongly detracts from willingness to continue schooling. Dropout campaigns have been mounted, even on a national scale, with counseling to campaigns have been mounted, even on a national scale, with counseling to provide special services to motivate returning students. To hold culturally disadvantaged youth in school will require a new look at the opportunities which affect the different facts of achievement motivation.

d. The use of group work techniques as a means of maximizing peer support has proved helpful as part of remedial programs for older low-income children. Neighborhood action programs where mothers organize and work as leaders of other groups of mothers have shown results in bringing about reentry of school dropouts, in home-school communication, and in stimulating the educational interest of mothers.

e. Continuing interest of the caseworker in the educational achievement of the children in the family offers support and direction to the mother. Casework references to community resources are essential, as well as social work efforts in mobilizing new and needed resources for enriched social-educational experiences.

f. Innovative approaches to reach fathers in intact families are needed. Low-income family patterns make this difficult and will require new and different modes of programming. (Moles, 1966)

C. Pre-service Teacher Education

1. Even though 80 percent of American population now live in 321 metropolitan areas, less than one in six of 281 colleges and universities responding have made substantial change in curriculum for the purpose of readying teachers for urban inner-city school experiences, and only two in five had any intention of doing so in the future. Egerton further indicates that teacher education, especially at the pre-service level, has not as yet been affected significantly by the current national need for and interest in preparing teachers for work with disadvantaged children. (Egerton, 1967)

2

2. Michigan State University plans a pre-service teacher education program which will involve:

    a. Visitation and observation in inner city schools by MSU education majors (4,000).

    b. Three hundred students will spend a half-day each week in concentrated tutorial programs, enrichment courses, as teacher aides, resource persons.

    c. One hundred and fifty students will take part in three months of study and practice teaching as interns in Flint.

    d. Seventy-five will participate in a special six-month program in Detroit's inner city schools.

    e. Twenty-five will spend 18 months working in Flint inner city schools.

(*Michigan Chronicle,* August 10, 1968)

3. Cuban says, "Now that the urban poor have been discovered, experimentation and innovation have become the catchwords of urban education. Projects abound and experiments multiply, yet visible change in the operation and quality of inner-city schools remains imperceptible. And that lack of visible change will continue, we believe, unless we improve the training of the classroom teacher—the real agent of educational change."

Cuban, the former director of the Cardozo Project in Washington, D.C., trained returned Peace Corps Volunteers to teach history, English, mathematics, and science at Cardozo High School. In June, 1964, the project was extended for another year and trained 16 returned Peace Corps Volunteers to teach history and English at the secondary level. In September, 1965, the Cardozo Project received a grant to train 60 men and women to teach in inner-city schools. Goals of the project were:

1. Seek to train teachers for inner-city schools.

2. Trainees were helped to know their students who they were and how they learned.

3. Trainees learned to be technically proficient in methodology, content areas.

4. Equipped the young men and women with the skills, knowledge and sensitivity necessary to meet these demands.

The Program was divided into four parts:

1. *Supervised Internship.* Includes dialogue between intern and specialist (master teacher) which is the core of the project.

2. *Seminars.* a) "Teaching and the Urban Condition." b) "Teaching and Psychological Disciplines" c) "Methods and development of Curriculum Materials."

3. *Development of Curriculum Materials.* This assumes that conventional materials in use in most urban schools simply have not engaged youngsters.

4. *Student and Community Contact Interns.* They were assigned to local anti-poverty organizations (Neighborhood Development Centers) for first several months to get acquainted with such services before working with the youngsters.

No "hard" data exist, at this time, to determine whether the program has been successful. However, project participants feel that the more the teacher knows his student inside the class, but especially outside the formal class situation, the greater the chance to reach the student in class. Cuban urges that teachers spend half-time working with students and develop materials for their classes the other half. Little progress will be made until the role of the teacher, his methods and materials, and the place that the school must play in the life of the community are dealt with. "In effect, the structure of education must be rethought and, ultimately, revised to meet the needs of inner-city youngsters." (Cuban, 1966)

VI.
ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES

A number of proposals for changed school administrative practices to integrate schools and to improve the education of minority children, including school district reorganization and decentralization, have been discussed in the chapter on racial isolation.

Most proposals for school district reorganization at the present time appear to be primarily concerned with some aspect of what we currently call decentralization, that is, making the schools more responsible to the public—especially to the black public in the inner cities, where black people have traditionally been denied representation and involvement in school decision-making.

A. What remains at issue has to do with the educational desirability of specific proposals in this direction. Evidence relating to the virtual necessity of some form of desegregation as an ingredient of compensatory education seems sometimes to be in conflict with the perceived goals by whites of "separatist" movements. In practice, the title of the so-called "Bundy Report," *Reconnection for Learning,* seems particularly appropriate in the sense of the stated goal of the plan to reconnect people to the power systems which are supposed to serve them.

The Bundy Report recommends that New York City public schools should be reorganized into a Community School System, consisting of a federation of largely autonomous school districts and a central education agency. From thirty to sixty new districts would be created, each ranging in size from about 12,000 to 40,000 pupils, and with authority for all regular elementary and secondary education within their boundaries and responsibility for special education functions and citywide educational policies, and would provide certain centralized services to the Community School Districts and others on the district's request. Districts would be governed by boards of education elected from the community and appointed by the Mayor. These boards would be expected to establish procedures and channels for the closest possible consultation with parents, community residents, teachers, and supervisory personnel at the individual-school level and with associations of parents, teachers, and supervisors. (Mayor's Advisory Panel, 1967)

B. Sexton's landmark study, *Education and Income,* established beyond doubt that administrative practices of the Detroit Board of Education at that time were responsible for inhibition of social mobility within the community and actually served to increase disparity and polarization between social groups in Detroit. This tendency of many, if not most, school systems to increase the social and economic stratification of the society must be resisted and can only be brought about in school systems where administrators and community leaders exert influence to provide system reform and redirection. (Sexton, 1961)

C. Fantini's continuum of five approaches to intervention (compensatory education, desegregation, model subsystems, parallel systems, and total system reform) may provide some guidelines to programs to combat the effects of racism through administrative practice. (Fantini, 1968)

D. Clark proposes as a major strategy the establishment of alternative public school systems. He charges that the pervasive and persistent inefficiency which characterizes ghetto schools results in marked and cumulative academic retardation, beginning in the third or fourth grade and increasing through the eighth grade, a high percentage of dropouts in the junior and senior high schools of students unequipped academically and occupationally for a constructive role in society, and a pattern of rejection and despair and hopelessness resulting in massive human wastage.

Clark proposes that the first phase of an all-out attack on the inferior education now found in racially segregated schools should be coordinated with a strategy and program for massive and realistic desegregation of entire school systems. The need to reorganize large public school systems must be sold to the general public in terms of hard dollars and cents rather than in terms of public-school desegregation. He points out the need to involve large metropolitan regional planning in the mobilization, utilization, and distribution of limited educational resources on a more efficient level, and urges that the movement toward decentralization of large urban school systems be carefully monitored so that it does not reinforce or concretize urban public school segregation and to assure that decentralization is consistent with the more economically determined trend toward consolidation and regional planning allocation of resources and cooperation.

Clark suggests the following as possible, realistic, and practical competitors to the present form of urban public school systems:

1. *Regional State Schools*, which would be financed by states and cut across present urban-suburban boundaries.

2. *Federal Regional Schools*, which would be financed by the Federal Government out of present state aid funds or with additional funds, and which would be able to cut through state boundaries and could make provision for residential students.

3. *College and University Related Open Schools*, which would be financed by colleges and universities as part of their laboratories in education, and would be open to the public and not restricted to children of faculty and students.

4. *Industrial Demonstration Schools*, which would be financed by industrial, business, and commercial firms for their employees and selected members of the public. These would not be vocational schools, but elementary and secondary schools of high quality.

5. *Labor Union Sponsored Schools*, which would be financed and sponsored by labor unions largely, but not exclusively, for the children of their members.

Clark states that the Defense Department has been quietly effective in educating some of the casualties of our present public schools, and that schools for adolescent dropouts or educational rejects could be set up by the Defense Department adjacent to military camps, but not necessarily as an integral part of the military. (Clark, 1968)

E. Varieties of practices for administrative desegregation of schools are known and in use which can provide guidelines for provision of integrated education and equality of opportunity in all but the most stubborn of racially homegeneous communities, especially when these techniques are used in conjunction with each other. They may include:

1. *Open enrollment* or freedom of choice transfer plans. Originally utilized as technique for avoidance of desegregation in some southern school systems, this approach has not been characterized by substantial success in any school system, and the courts have now ruled that southern schools, in particular, may no longer use this approach in lieu of school desegregation.

2. *New school construction*, especially in "neutral" areas. Strategic site selection should probably be taken into consideration of all new school plants, but does not offer significant or sufficient reduction of all school segregation to justify its use in place of other techniques.

3. *Pupil transportation, or busing.* The Board of Education in Lansing, Michigan, has recently lost a case brought by parents in opposition to busing students for the purpose of integration per se, although legal precedents in this field may vary. In the absence of total system reform, busing presently provides one of the most commonly perceived solutions to the problem of provision of quality integrated education. One common, and justifiable, objection to pupil transportation is that such plans almost always involve "one-way" busing.

4. *Closing of racially imbalanced schools*, especially old and inadequate buildings. This practice can serve to spark programs for desegregation. In its investigation of the Baltimore Public Schools in 1967, the NEA Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission found school buildings still in use which had been condemned as unfit by a special investigatory committee in 1921. Although the schools reported in this study perhaps present an extreme example, most urban systems may be continuing in use some buildings which have long been antiquated. In no case should new school construction be permitted to take place within the ghetto without adequate provision for school desegregation in the same buildings.

5. *Reassignment of pupils*, possible in most systems, may serve to reduce racial isolation.

6. *Revision of school attendance zones* should take place in such a fashion as to cross neighborhood lines wherever possible.

7. *Student (and teacher) exchange programs*, especially across school district lines, may be used to increase interracial contacts and experiences of students in predominantly white communities.

8. *Establishment of "model" or "prestige" schools*, or schools serving specific interests, may be utilized to provide superior educational programs to the total community, and definitely offer the prospect of reducing white parents' objections to transportation of their children into the inner city to attend these schools. The New York Public Schools have had considerable experience in this area, with some of their most prestigious school programs located in Harlem.

9. *Central schools*, high schools and intermediate schools which replace existing programs in new and larger buildings may be successful.

10. *Pairing of schools* (the Princeton plan), where student bodies of two separate schools are reassigned so that each may provide a better student balance.

11. *Grade reassignment plans*, similar to the Princeton plans, where selected schools serve only one or two grades for the entire district, providing automatic mixing of students. An extended version of this plan was suggested by Day in his "league of schools" proposal.

12. *Education parks* seem to offer the most promising opportunity for the provision of quality integrated and comprehensive school programs serving the total community. It may be anticipated that the additional costs in money and time of the necessary pupil transportation concomitant to this proposal will be more than compensated for in the provision of quality education for all students.

(National Education Association, 1967)

VII.
TEACHER EDUCATION

Programs for both pre-service and in-service education of teachers for the disadvantaged are reported frequently and in numerous forms, (reports, studies, project summaries, field research, university announcements, and school board publications). These print materials primarily indicate relatively minor efforts, specifically directed toward "racist attitudinal changes," but they do show diversity of informed opinion and judgment on what should be done in, or is being done by, the major teacher training institutions and/or school systems. Much material is also available which brings to bear information on the past, present, and predictable future of such programs.*

The major emphasis encountered by the writers in the search for information was that of the "disadvantaged." Again, no major effort seems to be in existence which has as its primary aim attempting to prevent, alleviate, or change racist attitudes of teachers, whether it be pre- or in-service. It should further be emphasized that the literature often equates or uses the term "disadvantaged," as well as social, cultural, and economic "deprivation" with that of the "black ghetto." Since this kind of equation exists, the recommendations reported in this section will be those which have been found to be relevant to urban education, but not necessarily to the issue of anti-racist, pre- and/or in-service programs. This fact must be kept in mind.

The following material consists of those recommendations (and their sources) which are representative of: (1) those most commonly expressed in the literature, and (2) those which the writers feel are most pertinent to the program development project at the Michigan-Ohio Regional Educational Laboratory.

A. Pre-Service Education Recommendations

1. Green considers the following as most pertinent at this time:

   a. Administrative personnel in colleges of education must begin to rapidly provide in-service training for their own staff regarding the learning problems, social and emotional adjustment of urban disadvantaged youth. An important aspect of this in-service training should be the opportunity for faculty members to critically view their own attitudes regarding this population. Revision of curricula will have little impact if teacher educators have little interest in or concern for disadvantaged and minority group students.

   b. Faculty members who teach methods courses in such programs should have actual, recent experience with disadvantaged children in either a school or community environment in order to effectively relate theoretical concepts to classroom situations.

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*The publication, *An Analysis and Projection of Research in Teacher Education,* by F. R. Cyphert and E. Spaights, 1964, is indicative of such material.

c. In speaking with representatives from several major teaching training programs, many admitted that their students not only see education as being white and middle class, they themselves have neither Negroes nor members of other minority groups working full-time or part-time in their teacher training programs. Teachers identified through student teacher placements should be encouraged to participate in on-campus methods instruction.

d. Comprehensive, rather than piecemeal, teacher training programs must be developed in order that students can readily grasp the seriousness of such an educational thrust. A course in urban sociology or a two-hour contact in an inner-city community is not sufficient. A complete overhauling of coursework, both in education and liberal arts, should be conducted. Classes in Negro and Minority History should be required of all students on the undergraduate level. At the present time all students receive twelve years of thorough course work in white American and European History. To compensate for a major deficiency, colleges and universities should require course work in Negro and Minority History. This is essential in order for students to acquire an appreciation and respect for the contributions nonwhites have made to the growth of this nation, and in order to understand the background of current social problems. Courses should be developed focusing on cultural pluralism, the debilitating efforts of poverty, community alienation and its concomitant of powerlessness.

e. Our country has changed from an agrarian, close-knit society to a cybernetic, extremely mobile one. Yet we are failing to prepare teachers for this rapidly changing society. Students in colleges of education should receive coursework and field experiences that will realistically prepare them for urban areas. The School-University Teacher-Education Project makes sound recommendations for the curricular content and experiences of pre-service education for teachers in depressed areas. These recommendations are also appropriate for all students who wish to teach in urban areas. (Green, 1967)

2. The many kinds of expressed recommendations and proposals for pre-service teacher education, such as those of the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, and publications of the Clearinghouse on Urban Teacher Education, show that the following areas are "musts" in any such program. These include:

1. Proper knowledge and attitude.

2. Teaching self-evaluation and self-discovery.

3. Teaching varying styles and techniques for a variety of situations.

4. Instructional and curricular design.

B. In-Service Education Programs

Present practices for in-service education programs include (1) workshops, (2) seminars, (3) retreats, (4) media, (5) the "buddy system," (6) curricular and instructional activities, (7) teams (Inter- and intra-school, exchange teachers within and without a given system, activities exchange), and (8) institutes which disseminate, describe, develop, and/or involve instructional personnel. These are common practices, and ones which have been tried and used for many years.

1. As was the case for pre-service education programs, most of the recommendations cited can be summarized rather distinctly by noting those which tend to be most inclusive of the needs and problems of urban education. These are stated most clearly in a publication by Phi Delta Kappa, which makes the following suggestions:

   a. If the program is a cooperative undertaking and assistance is needed, seek aid from specialists on university and college faculties, university-based "Title IV Desegregation Centers" (Civil Rights Act of 1964), local public agencies, and local school systems.

   b. The structures of in-service programs which follow are listed only as a means of stimulating thought on the part of those who have planning responsibilities; planning groups should not restrict themselves to these alone.

      (1) extension classes
      (2) workshops
      (3) consultant services
      (4) practicums
      (5) seminars
      (6) work conferences
      (7) institutes

   c. Sufficient work-days should be included in teachers' contracts to provide for necessary and adequate in-service programs.

   d. Sound orientation programs should be provided new teachers.

   e. Provision should be made for released days for teacher observation of desegregated classes under a teacher of a race different from that of the observer.

   f. School personnel (office staff as well as teachers) should be encouraged to attend summer conferences on a desegregated basis.

   g. Local summer courses, workshops, and institutes should include studies of intercultural relationships as part of the school improvement program.

   h. Desegregated citizen-teacher committees should be appointed to study curricular problems in terms of concerns of the citizens.

i. Desegregated staff committees should be established to develop multi-ethnic curricular materials.

j. Efforts toward improving intercultural understanding through provisions for a tentative evaluation of the program at its conclusion.

In addition to the positive considerations to be taken into account in the development and implementation of an in-service education program, a number of cautions were identified. Program planners should avoid the development of an in-service program that:

a. provides for the staff to be "lectured to" about the problems;

b. does not provide opportunity for people who have had inter-ethnic experiences to interact with those who have not;

c. does not allow time for those who have to work in the new situations to "work through" their own feelings;

d. is devoid of clear purposes and activities;

e. does not encourage *active* participation;

f. does not have the support of the school board and administration;

g. is not built on needs and problems that have been identified within the particular system; and

h. is too theoretical. (Weinberg, 1968)

2. Green states that "the major limitations of many of the in-service programs for experienced teachers are related to program duration, content, staff, evaluation, programs, follow-up, and selection of enrollers." He comments about each of these areas as follows:

Many school systems devote one or two days of in-service education each year discussing on a variety of topics including the subject "educating disadvantaged youth." Such programs are usually quickly planned and involve consultants who are often familar with the problems of poor youth through a book of readings or an occasional visit to disadvantaged areas. Even though such programs are well intentioned, they are only the beginning of a basic behavioral change and should be followed up by discussions and other programs leading to direct involvement with disadvantaged students. Furthermore, summer institutes, although very effective in the exploration and understanding of the problems of disadvantaged students, are held in an atmosphere quite unlike the school-learning environment of disadvantaged youth. Many of the behavioral changes exhibited during a two-, four-, or six-week institute may not survive the rigors of the classroom.

In-service programs have utilized a variety of approaches in an effort to understand the background and personality of the disadvantaged student. Many programs include discussions by consultants and considerable reading by the enrollees. However, it is important that direct contact with disadvantaged students and their parents in both formal and informal settings be included in workshop curricula. Intensive involvement of the enrollees in the community in which the program is held would increase the understanding and appreciation of disadvantaged populations. It is also important that observations of master teachers working effectively with disadvantaged students and using the many new instructional materials be integrated into workshop curricula. Living in a disadvantaged neighborhood during institute attendance should aid the enrollees in obtaining an overall view of the life style of the children they will teach.

Program evaluation and follow-up are critical aspects of all in-service programs. One-, two-, or eight-week summer programs that do not provide for well-planned, objective follow-up typically may not have a lasting impact on teacher behavior and teacher utilization of information obtained in the training effort. Follow-through should be highly related to the actual classroom experiences of those who have had the benefit of the workshop. Training personnel should visit the classrooms of teachers who have been enrolled in the in-service program. They themselves might become involved in joint or team teaching efforts in order to more effectively relate theory to practice.

No in-service program should be developed without instructional personnel who themselves are knowledgeable about inner-city life. An occasional visit to depressed areas is not sufficient. College supervisory and public school administrative personnel should themselves be actively involved in ongoing programs for the disadvantaged.

Evaluation focusing on attitudinal change as measured by standardized instruments, in addition to evaluation by school administrators during the following school year on criteria established by the workshop professional staff, are possible indications of the long range program effectiveness. Fleming has developed two instruments for identifying changes in teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged (1967), and Hilliary (1966) is also in the process of constructing an instrument to measure teacher attitudes toward the disadvantaged.

In-service programs are very attractive to teachers who would like to earn academic credit and also receive a weekly stipend. Many persons may adopt the facade of a concerned, committed individual when actually they are materialistically inspired. Also, individuals with excellent academic records and good literacy may impress program directors with their concern. It would not be entirely wise to eliminate such individuals from in-service institutes–particularly if they are employed in inner-city schools–because change among such personnel is imperative. However, institute directors must look beyond this group and also select teachers with a strong desire to become competent urban educators even though their past training may not have been in accredited colleges. Criteria other than undergraduate grade point average and qualifying test scores should be used. Stalley has developed a series of questions appropriate for interviewing candidates for institute participation and possible urban placement.

Bank Street College of Education, in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education, has made an extensive survey of in-service and pre-service programs throughout the United States. They distributed 1,127 questionnaires to colleges of teacher education and departments of education in institutions of higher learning, in-service programs in selected school systems, summer institutes for teachers of disadvantaged youth financed under Title XI of the National Defense Education Act, and teacher education programs financed under the Economic Opportunity Act. Five hundred and three of the 1,127 questionnaires were returned, 54 percent from school systems and 35 percent from colleges and universities. This project, called "Project Aware," also involved visits to 59 programs. The "Aware" teams have made excellent recommendations with suggestions for implementation for institute-type programs, in-service programs in school systems, and for programs in institutions of higher learning.

The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in cooperation with Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana (AACTE, 1967) have been funded for a National NDEA Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth. This institute is designed to improve programs for personnel who are engaged in or preparing to engage in the teaching of disadvantaged youth. The program, which is in its second year of operation, operates on two levels. First, special attention is given to the identification and clarification of the fundamental problems and issues relevant to teaching the disadvantaged and to the preparation of teachers. Recommendations for substantive changes and appropriate strategies for the improvement of teacher education will be made. Their second concern is to provide opportunities for educational personnel to exchange information regarding the problems and issues which constitute its continuing agenda on the preparation and retraining of teachers. Hopefully this organization will impress upon its members the need to construct effective programs for teachers of the disadvantaged, and to provide an effective procedure whereby candidates with a desire to work with the disadvantaged may enroll in such programs. (Green, 1967)

3. There have been others (besides Green) who have stated the needs and also made recommendations. To note but a few, the following are representative of such expert opinion:

Frank Reissman: Inform teachers about the strengths of low income culture (attitudes toward education, cooperativeness, extended family, physical style, etc.). The objective is to develop interest in and respect for low income culture as distinct from appreciating the difficulties of the low income environment. The theory is that this will lead to an honest 'expect more and get more' for the children and their parents."*

Doxey A. Wilkerson: Granted, we must do much to modify the behavior patterns of disadvantaged children. All my looking around and inquiring leads me to the conviction that we must do a great deal also to modify the orientation of the school, the expectations of the teachers, and especially their perceptions of these children. It is no secret in the profession that very commonly teachers 'write off' these lower-class youngsters as uneducable.*

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*Frank Reissman, "Teachers of the Poor: A Five Point Plan"; paper presented to the Syracuse University Conference on Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation, July 15, 1964; p. 26.

Martin Deutsch: The teacher, trained in our not-so-modern teacher-education institutions, assumes–probably consciously as well as unconsciously–that the school child is a quasi-passive recipient of knowledge, and that he clearly understands the teacher:s educative and remedial functions. In this, the teacher is as likely to be confused about the child's expectations as the child is confused about the school's expectations.

Another reaction seems to be, "They can't learn; they don't care; their parents are not concerned." This projective device serves to relieve the professional of responsibility . . . Still other teachers say, "It is all the environment–impoverishment, economic insecurity, segregation, second class citizenship, historical chains. Of course, none of these things is the child's fault, but neither are they the school's fault." Yet such a view often leads to negation not only of the essential responsibility of the school but also to the actual and potential strengths of the children. Most important, it indicates an elaborate rationale for further alienation of teachers from their primary function, teaching. The essential element, which is both professionally and psychologically threatening, is simply that, for the child inadequately equipped to handle what the school has to offer, it is up to the school to develop his capabilities. Essentially, the disadvantaged child is still further disadvantaged when the school, as the primary socializing and teaching agent, refuses to accept its own failure whenever any such child fails. For the school to assume its full responsibility requires constant self-criticism and self-evaluation; these have not been characteristic of educational systems, despite noteworthy exceptions.

To put it more bluntly, when teacher-training institutions and educational systems foster an atmosphere of critical evaluation of their procedures and establish high criteria for professional training and development, teachers will maintain a psychological connection with their children that today is often severed, especially when the teacher, with neither a theoretical nor a working model, must bridge social-class discontinuities.†

Harry Passow: "More significant in determining the level of academic achievement (of socially disadvantaged children) are the general attitudes of teachers toward their students and the manner in which they are communicated . . . The two essential ingredients of successful education for these children (which teachers must acquire) are belief in their educability and respect for them as human beings."*

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*Doxey A. Wilkerson [associate professor, Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University], "Some Practices and Theoretical Issues in the Education of Socially Disadvantaged Children and Youth"; paper presented at a meeting of the Western Regional membership of the College Entrance Examination Board at Colorado Women's College, June 17, 1964; p. 4.

†Martin Deutsch, "Some Psychological Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged," *Integrated Education,* III, No. 3 (June-July, 1965); pp. 52-53.

James Olsen: "We cannot expect to convey most of the culturally different to a middle-class way of life.

It seems much more reasonable to reduce the social distance between the school and its students by finding out what the contents of lower-class culture is and then modifying or changing some of what we teach and how we teach it.

I therefore make the following recommendations: . . . The pre- and in-service teacher training programs have to be severely revamped so that middle-class teachers learn the content and style of lower-class life. Since 95 percent of teachers in the United States are recruited from the middle-class, we need to acquaint teachers with the social values and mores of lower-class children. In this way teachers can learn to exploit the positive strengths the culturally different have and to fight their weaknesses."†

Herbert M. Schwab: "[There is need for] the special training of teachers assigned to disadvantaged schools to prepare them for the special educational conditions and social problems which they meet, and give them methods and techniques for coping with such conditions.

All principals and teachers interviewed, both locally and in other cities, urge such training both at the college level and . . . [in] special . . . in-service workshop(s) for teachers assigned to disadvantaged schools. The trained teacher is the key to remedial measures. Outstanding facilities and services are not enough."‡§

In conclusion, and perhaps broadly representative of the suggestions, conclusions, and recommendations made above for both pre- and in-service education of teachers, Haubrich states the following suggestions based on interpretation of research findings which implicate the broad possibilities of *all* educational personnel training. Although Dr. Haubrich considers these tentative, he also sees them as a serviceable basis for decision-making.

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*A. Harry Passow, ed., *Education in Depressed Areas* (New York: Columbia University, 1963); p. 104.

†James Olsen, "Challenge of the Poor to the Schools," *Phi Delta Kappan,* XLVII, No. 2; pp. 82-83.

‡Herbert M. Schwab, et al., *Race and Equal Educational Opportunity in Portland's Public Schools* (Portland, Ore.: Board of Education, Multnomah School District No. 1, 1964); pp. 170-71.

§Those interested in detailed figures and statistics should consult such publications as *Desegregation Research: An Appraisal,* by Phi Delta Kappa; publications of the NCTEPS for visitation centers; *Preparing Teachers of Disadvantaged Children,* Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (1968), for survey instruments in gathering data on such programs; and documents from the ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Teacher Education for results of specific projects.

1. Priority should be given to those programs which design a closer meshing of university and school personnel *in situ*. The situational context of professional development should be the context in which professionals work. Therefore—

   There should be a priority for those school districts indicating a willingness to cooperate with college and university staff, and vice-versa.

   There should be a continuing feedback arrangement which involves a research component in each program.

   Where feasible, a priority should be given to the concept of field test or practicum as crucial for all professionals in developing programs. Administrators and teachers must have the opportunity to try out and evaluate new ideas and programs.

   The program should emphasize diversity of attack and receptivity to research findings for a considerable period of time.

2. Emphasis should be placed on the education and re-education of administrators, supervisors, and long-term professionals who are in control of school system. Such education and re-education should be developed between the professionals in the field and the professors at the university.

3. Priority should be given to program development which looks to vertical contexts in professional development, i.e.,programs that include school functionaries ranging from teacher aides on the one hand to school superintendents on the other: from the beginning of professional development in the pre-service arena to the in-service education of teachers and administrators including the cooperation of college and university staff as planning and training agents.

4. A priority should be given to a diagnosis of school difficulties, both teaching and administrative, as the beginning point of courses. Field experiences for professional development should be viewed as mandatory.

In the judgment of the writers we are long overdue for a critical re-education of the professional staff of school systems and of the total university personnel who must teach them. (NDEA, 1968)

VIII.
EVALUATION INSTRUMENTS

The research data and/or other print material on "instruments aimed at determining the success of anti-racist educational programs" has been found to be almost non-existent. There does exist, however, a variety of resources which refer to the use of instruments in determining and gathering of resources which refer to the use of instruments in determining and gathering kinds of information relevant to inter-group relations. For example . . .

- Bogardus ranked various ethnic groups with respect to range of social contacts to which the groups would be admitted and the degree of social distance to which each group was held. (Bogardus. *Measuring Social Distance,* 1925)
- Lasker reported that manifestations of prejudice in children, aged 5 and 6, which appeared after school attendance, and generally increased later, countered those who believed race prejudice was instinctive.
- In 1947, Rose presented a definitive review of studies relating to:

  Effectiveness of school courses dealing with race relations
  Effectiveness of specific propaganda in changing attitudes
  Effectiveness of personal contacts in changing attitudes
  Measurement of changes in attitudes toward minority groups
  Studies of differential effectiveness of media of communication,
  propaganda, prestige symbols, techniques
  Attitude testing techniques
  Public Opinion Polls
  Psychology of Prejudice.

In addition to these references, the writers' search of the literature led to finding several specific instruments which have been and are now being used in the public schools for the purpose of determining certain kinds of attitudes toward minority groups. Some of the instruments (listed and annotated below) are adaptations of instruments familiar to researchers, but used for other purposes, while others are usable for purposes specific to the problem of racism. Further note should be made that not all instruments are applicable to the school setting.

Attitude scales (except the questionnaire) have been the most popular method used to study student reactions toward a particular aspect of school. These scales are generally patterned after either the Thurstone Equal-Appearing Interval Scale or the Likert Summated Rating Scale. Unfortunately, however, most of the custom-made scales lack the rigor and precision of these earlier models, and are consequently of little value to the research literature in the area. Attitude scales are popular because they provide a single measure of the attitude being studied. "While the instruments are more sensitive to variations in student attitude patterns than, say a questionnaire, they nevertheless do not allow the subject to create his own responses."

INSTRUMENTS

1. "Hinckley Scale of Attitudes Toward Negroes" (*Journal of Social Psychology,* 1932, 3, 283-296)

   Superior to most now in evidence for its validity. Reliability somewhat low. Has been revised by author in 1963. Uses Thurstone procedure. Questions refer to equality, the rights, and the prerogatives of the Negro.

2. "Thurstone Measurement of Social Attitudes" (*Scales for the Measurement of Attitudes,* Shaw & Wright. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967)

   Considers the status and the capabilities of the Negro and solution to the racial problem.

3. "Likert Attitude Toward the Negro Scale" (*Archives of Psychology,* 22, 1932, 5-55).

   Most items question the proper behavior on the part of whites in interaction with, or reaction to, Negroes. A relatively valid and highly reliable scale. Does not have equivalent forms.

4. "Stecker Anti-Negro Scale" (*Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology,* 1957, 54, 396-99)

   One of the few scales designed for measuring attitudes toward Negroes, and the items sample heavily their cultural stereotype. Author also has an anti-white scale to accompany this. Suggested that two scales used together will provide valuable research.

5. "Rosander Negro Behavior Attitude Scale" (*Journal of Social Psychology,* 1937, 8, 3-16)

   Each item is coupled with a proposition of action to be taken; 22-item scale.

6. "Ford Experiences with Negroes Scale" (*American Sociological Review,* 1941, 6, 9-23)

   Inquires about community and personal contact with Negroes. (Uses no word outside the 10,000 most frequently used words in English language.) Requires assumption that persons will distort their experience as a function of the direction and intensity of attitude held.

7. "Kogan & Downey Social Situations Questionnaires" (*Journal of Abnormal Social Psychology,* 1956, 53, 292-295)

   Measures discriminatory attitudes toward Negroes. Utilizes Guttman-type scale. Is actually a study to determine what different people will do in different situations.

8. "Bogardus Social Distance Scale" (*Sociology and Social Research,* 1933, 17, 265-271).

   Measures different degrees of sympathetic understanding that exist between persons. Has been modified by Miller & Biggs (1958) for use with children.

9. "Grice Scale to Measure Attitudes Toward Defined Groups" (*Purdue University Study of Higher Education,* 1943, 35, 37-46)

   Similar to Remmers Scale, and measures attitudes toward any group of people. Has 46 items and has been used in a variety of areas.

10. "Attitudes Toward School Integration," Greenberg, Chase, & Cannon (*Journal of Applied Psychology,* 1957, 41, 27-31)

    Measures attitudes toward issue of integration. Covers many facets of question. Reliability estimates and validity for scale are lacking in this instrument.

11. "Attitude Toward Segregation Scale," by Rosenbaum & Zimmerman (*Public Opinion Quarterly,* 1959, 23, 247-254).

    Modified Likert-type scale. Items selected by item analysis. Considered to be an adequate scale for intended purpose. Used most often with students.

12. "Segregation Scale," by Peak, Morrison, Spivak, Zinnes (*Technical Report No. 1,* Office of Naval Research, August 15, 1956).

    Uses Comb's unfolding technique. Measures attitudes toward the issue of allowing Negroes into white neighborhoods. A valid and reliable measurement tool.

13. "Desegregation Scale," Kelley, Ferson, Hottzman (*Journal of Social Psychology,* 1958, 48, 305-317)

    Lacks complete evidence of reliability and validity. Measures attitudes toward the issue of desegregation.

14. "Attitude Toward Accepting Negro Students in College," by Grafton (*Social Forces,* 1964 43, 38-41).

    Items reflect covert and overt reactions to presence of Negro student and to the general issue of segregation. Evidence of reliability would enhance its value.

15. *Study of High School Educational Climates,* conducted by Johns Hopkins University—supported through the Cooperative Research Program of the U.S. Office of Education. December, 1966. Edward L. McDill, Edmund D. Meyers, and Leo C. Rigsby.

    The teachers' and students' questionnaires in this study might be useful, if adapted, for determining institutional effects on the behavior of students in a ghetto school. As conducted, the above study was primarily an assessment of the influence of different pedagogical and social dimensions of a school environment on student achievement. Its application to ghetto school environments and their effects on both student achievement and faculty perceptions might be very useful.

IX.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Part 1. SEARCH TOOLS

Of the many general search tools available for seeking information pertinent to problems and areas of activity in the field of education, the following listing includes only those items found to be relevant for use in locating information about racism in education.

1. *A.E.R.A. Abstracts.* American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., February 1968. (The volume is published annually.)

A volume of abstracts of addresses presented at the annual meetings of the American Educational Research Association. The material presented in each of the annual volumes pertains to educational activities, at all levels, which have been researched well and/or are of significance as a trend in educational practice. The range of articles is not strictly limited by topic, but does represent only the "best" in educational research procedures and design.

2. *Croft Educational Services.* New London, Connecticut. (A Division of Vision Incorporated)

The materials available through Croft are available only through subscription. They publish newsletters which pertain both to general areas of education (Curriculum Newsletters, Education Summary, School Law Reporter, and others) and to specific disciplines and personnel. Each newsletter has its own cycle of publication dates or periods.

3. *Education Index.* H. W. Wilson Company, Bronx, N.Y.

Published monthly, except July and August, this publication is a cumulative subject index to selected listings of educational periodicals, proceedings, and yearbooks.

4. *Encyclopedia of Associations.* (Fourth Edition), Gale Research Co., Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan, 1964.

Lists newly formed associations. Vol. I provides detailed descriptions of national trade, professional, and other organizations. Vol. II gives geographic-executive index to material in Vol. I. Vol. III gives the complete listings, in loose-leaf form, of newly-formed associations up to that date. This tool has comparable usage to that of the other Gale entry in this listing (No. 7).

5. *Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts.* (PHRA) Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Published six times a year, each issue of PHRA contains 200 abstracts drawn from publications of government agencies and private foundations; major journals, periodicals and books; unpublished papers and conference reports; and literature referred by specialists on problems of poverty, manpower and human resources. Featured in each issue is an original article on major problems and issues of contemporary society and a special report on the Washington scene. Each issue contains a detailed index.

6. *Research Annual on Intergroup Relations.* (ADL) Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., Publishers, N. Y., N. Y. (1965, 1966)

This annual publication is a compilation of sources of information (with detailed annotations). It is a compilation of many types of print resources, and does include material from and on or about such activities in intergroup relations in countries other than the U.S.

7. *Research Centers Directory* (Second Edition), Gale Research Company, Book Tower, Detroit, Michigan.

A directory of more than 3,200 university-related and other non-profit research units, with detailed information of staff, areas of research emphasis, etc., detailed subject, executive, geographical, and institutional indexes. There is also a periodic supplement which up-dates this volume. Useful to the researcher on racism in locating those units doing research in this area.

8. *Research in Education.* Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education, Washington, D.C.

The basic document, published monthly, provides abstracts of educational information supplied from a network of 18 clearinghouses in special interest areas. The materials announced in this publication are purchasable in microfiche or hard copy. (See Appendix A for further information on this source.)

9. *The Negro in Print.* Bibliographic and Research Center, Inc., Washington, D.C., 1965.

A bi-monthly publication, begun in April 1965, which indicates information about writings on the Negro. The items listed are annotated in detail. Useful as a general source of information, and not solely for purposes of locating research-type data.

10. *Urban Education Bibliography.* Center for Urban Education (CUE), New York, N.Y., April, 1968.

Presents an annotated listing of material primarily produced between September 1965 through December 1965. Comparable listing before these dates is found in *Urban Education,* 1963. The CUE, a regional educational laboratory, publishes a wide variety of reports, monographs, books, bibliographies, and a bi-monthly journal, all of which are aimed at providing educational data relevant to our urban educational problems, including racism.

Part 2. REFERENCES

Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education. *Because It Is Right–Educationally.* Boston: Massachusetts State Board of Education, April 1965.

The goals of the advisory committee appointed by the Massachusetts State Board of Education were to (1) determine if racial imbalance exists; (2) determine if racial imbalance is educationally harmful; and (3) recommend ways of eliminating it. This report discusses some of the most common misconceptions about school integration and concludes that racial imbalance harms both negro and white children. Six research papers which give some background to the study of racially balanced schools (the papers have been annotated separately) are also included. Recommendations are given for the Boston and Springfield areas with additional suggestions for the Medford, Cambridge, and Worcester areas.

After School Integration–What? Proceedings of the third annual Invitational Conference on Urban Education. New York: Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University, 1965.

This examination of the problems that will remain after the schools have been integrated physically attempts to provide some guidelines for the solution of these problems.

Allport, Gordon W. "Catharsis and the Reduction of Prejudice." *Journal of Social Issues* 1 (1945): 3-10.

Significant study. Hostility toward minorities diminishes when policemen can talk out their aggressions. The teacher could teach nothing in this field until a sort of catharsis had taken place–would support modern confrontation techniques.

Alschuler, Alfred S. *The Achievement Motivation Development Project: A Summary and Reviews* (Occasional Paper No. 3). Center for Research and Development on Educational Differences. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University, April 1967.

"American Education and the Search for Equal Opportunity." Washington, D.C.: Educational Policies Commission, National Education Association, 1965.

Significant policy statement, with proposals for dealing with effects of de facto school segregation.

Amidon, Edmund, and Hoffman, Carl B. "Can Teachers Help the Socially Rejected?" *Elementary School Journal* 66, 3 (1965): 149-154.
The authors conducted an inservice program to determine whether teachers trained in the use of specific procedures and techniques for helping rejected children could improve the position of these children in their classes. An experimental and a control group were formed by 12 teachers and their sixth-grade classes. The study found that the position of the rejected children in the experimental group was significantly more likely to improve over the year than the position of the rejected in the control group.

Anderson, Harry E. Jr.; White, William F.; and West, James A. "Generalized Effects of Praise and Reproof," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 57, 3 (1966): 169-173.
Praise and reproof on a classroom achievement test were administered to 52 university female students, with effects of praise and reproof measured on an independent variable.

"Annotated Bibliography of Effects of School Desegregation." New York: Institute of Urban Studies, Teachers College, Columbia University, December 1964, mimeo.
This collection contains summaries of six articles about the effects of school desegregation. They are: "De facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High School," by Nancy H. St. John; "Integrated Schools and Negro Character Development," by C. P. Armstrong and A. J. Gregor; "The Scholastic Performance of Negro and White Pupils in the Integrated Public Schools of the District of Columbia," by Carl F. Hansen; "A Study of the Immediate Effects of Integration on Scholastic Achievement in the Louisville Public Schools," by Frank H. Stallings; and "The Effects of Desegregation on Performance of Negroes," by Irwin Katz. Some of these articles have been annotated separately.

"The Balaban Decision: Pro and Con." [New York Court of Appeals] *Integrated Education* 2, 5 (1964/65): 45-48.
This article discusses the question, "Will the courts hold invalid the adoption by the Board of Education of a 'zoning plan' for a new public school because the Board, in addition to other relevant matters, took into account in delimiting the zone, the factor of racial balance in the new school, thus resulting in enrollment of one-third Negro, one-third Puerto Rican, and one-third White in Junior High School 275 in Brooklyn?" Pros and cons to the argument are presented here and other cases with similar issues are cited.

Bayton, James A.; Austin, Lettie J.; and Burke, Kay R. "Negro Perception of Negro and White Personality Traits." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 1, 3 (1965): 250-253.
Negro male and female students answered the Cruilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey in terms of how they thought "the average Negro" (male and female) would reply. The study is an attempt to uncover the elements that go into the perception of "racial personality." Three such elements seem to be involved: stereotypes, sex of the group being assessed, and sex of the student making the assessment.

Berelson, Bernard, and Steiner, Gary A. *Human Behavior, an Inventory of Scientific Findings.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964.
A summary of 1,045 general findings about the way human beings behave. These findings, supported by scholarly research in the field of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and related fields, cover politics, sex and marriage, race and religion, class and status, communication and public opinion. This book represents one of the major works in this area. The chapter dealing with Ethnic Relations is especially appropriate for this study.

Berry, Brewton. *Race and Ethnic Relations.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965.
The author describes and analyzes the phenomena that occur when groups of people, who differ racially and culturally, come into contact with one another. His interest is in *relations,* and he challenges the assumption that the race problem is essentially one of Negro-White relations, or that it is peculiar to the United States. He discusses the concepts of race, stratification, segregation, pluralism, assimilation, amalgamation, prejudice, annihilation, and expulsion.

Blackman, Allan. "Planning and the Neighborhood School." *Integrated Education* 2, 4 (1964): 49-57.
This talk, given before the American Institute of Planners, concerns the "neighborhood unit" and the school within this unit. The author asks planners to reconsider their commitment to this form of school planning. He raises the questions: "What are the purposes and values of the neighborhood school?" "Are the values of the neighborhood school more important than the values of racial integration of schools?" "Can we achieve both the goals of the neighborhood school and of racial integration?" "What are the alternative forms of school organization?"

Blake, Elia, Jr. "Color Prejudice and the Education of Low Income Negroes in the North and West." *Journal of Negro Education* 34, 3 (1965): 288-299.
The author claims that color prejudice is discussed in the context of its existence in the broader society, but that there is rarely research on color prejudice within the instructional and administrative structure of the school systems. He feels that this neglect has hampered solutions to de facto segregation. He cites articles dealing with de facto segregation, compensatory programs, and interracial relationships, and says that expressions of color prejudice may complicate the teaching-learning process. He recommends, among other things, that the staffs of integrated schools hold seminars to discuss interracial relationships within the schools.

Bloom, Benjamin; Davis, Allison; and Hess, Robert. *Compensatory Education for Cultural Deprivation.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1965.

Bogardus, Emory S. "Measuring Social Distance," *Journal of Applied Sociology* (1925): 299-305. (in Rose, 1947)
Landmark. Probably the first to use the concept of a scale to measure attitudes, Bogardus and Robert E. Park developed concept of "Social Distance."

Bowen, David. *The Struggle Within: Race Relations in the United States.* New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1965.
This book attempts to give equal consideration to all of the arguments for and against segregation and on the equality or inequality of races. It deals with such questions as: Does the Negro need special attention? How do some people–even some Negroes–profit from racial discrimination? How do American ideas about Negroes fit in with American ideas about equality?

Brown, Robert G. "A Comparison of the Vocational Aspirations of Paired Sixth Grade White and Negro Children Who Attend Segregated Schools" *Journal of Educational Research* 58, 9: 402-404.
Negro and white groups of sixth graders of similar economic backgrounds, from similar regional environments, and with comparable intelligence quotients–each group attending a segregated school–were asked about their vocational ambitions. Choices of the Negro students ranked higher than those of white students. Occupational choices of both groups ranked higher than occupations currently held by their fathers.

Bryan, Judith F., and Locke, Edwin A. "Goal Setting as a Means of Increasing Motivation," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 51, 3 (1967): 274-277.
Instead of taking subjects who were initially similar on dependent measures and making them different, subjects were chosen who were initially different on variables and experimental procedures were directed toward making them similar in this study of the effects of goals on performance and attitudes.

"Busing Negro Students Doesn't Hurt Their Academic Performance," *Nations Schools* 81, 2 (1968): 56-57.
The effect busing has on the academic performance of Negro students.

Campbell, Angus, and Schumann, Howard. "Racial Attitudes in Fifteen American Cities," Supplemental Studies for the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D.C.: The Commission, 1968.

Campbell, Paul B. "School and Self-concept." *Educational Leadership,* March, 1967.
Various points of view about self-concept and how it relates to a student's performance in school.

Chesler, Mark, "The Development of Alternative Responses–Intergenerational and Interracial Conflict in High Schools." Ann Arbor: Center for Research on Utilization of Scientific Knowledge,, University of Michigan, 1967.

Chesler, Mark; Wittes, Simon; and Radin, Norma. "What Happens When Northern Schools Desegregate?" *American Education,* June, 1968: 2-4.
Evaluation of busing experience of 90 Negro children in white suburbs of Detroit in 1966-67.

Cheyney, Arnold B. "Curricular Methods Used by Outstanding Teachers of Culturally Disadvantaged Elementary School Children." *Journal of Negro Education,* Spring, 1966.
Fifty teachers selected as outstanding for work with culturally disadvantaged children were surveyed as to methods used in developing motivation.

Clark, Kenneth B. "Alternative Public School Systems." *Harvard Educational Review* 38, 1 (1968): 100-13.

-----. "Clash of Cultures in the Classroom." In Weinberg, Meyer (ed.), *Learning Together.* Chicago: Integrated Education Associates, 1964. 18-25.

-----. *Dark Ghetto.* New York: Harper & Row, 1965.
This study of the Negro ghetto is an attempt to understand the combined problems of the confined Negro and of the American slum. It describes and interprets their effect. Much of the book is based on data from the HARYOU studies of Harlem.

-----. "Social and Economic Implications of Integration in the Public Schools." Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, November, 1965.
The author examines the complex social and economic problems that arise from the deteriorating quality of Negro education in Northern urban centers.

Clarke, A. D. B., and Clarke, A. M. *Acta Psychologia* 16 (1959):137-144. In Deutsch, Martin. "Some Psychosocial Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged." *Teachers College Record,* January, 1966: 260-265.
One of the most comprehensive reviews of the effects of environmental impoverishment on intellectual development; presents data collected on adolescents and young adults who have experienced severe deprivation as a result of cruelty, neglect, or parental separation.

Cline, Marvin. "Evaluation of Educational Improvement Program, Philadelphia, Pa., and Madison Area Project, Syracuse, N.Y." In *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* 1967 (vol. 2: 243-252).

Cohen, David K. "Policy for the Public in Schools." *Harvard Educational Review* 38 (1968): 114-137.
Concerned with the implications of research for national policy and centers upon a few of the many changes which are generally advocated for urban education.

Coleman, James S. "The Concept of Equality of Educational Opportunity." *Harvard Educational Review* 38 (1968): 7-22.
Author traces the evolutionary shifts in interpretation of the concept of equality of educational opportunity.

-----, et al. *Equality of Educational Opportunity.* U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education. Washington, D.C.: National Center for

Educational Statistics, 1966.
A publication requested by Congress to determine to what extent racial and ethnic groups were segregated in the public schools and to see whether these schools offered equal educational opportunities in terms of certain criteria, and how much students learn in these schools; attempts made to discuss possible relationships between student achievement, on the one hand, and the kinds of schools they attend on the other.

Cuban, Larry. "Cardozo Project in Urban Teaching." *Education,* February-March, 1966: 216-220.
Description and outline of program of Cardozo Project.

-----. "Not 'Whether?' but 'Why?' and 'How?'–Instructional materials on the Negro in the Public Schools." *Journal of Negro Education* 36, 4 (1967): 434-36.
A good discussion of the goals as well as limitations of instructional materials used to correct the distorted picture of the American Negro. The article is brief, but does focus on the central issues of utilization of such materials in schools.

Cushman, Edward L., and Keith, Damon. "Report of the High Schools Study Commission." Detroit: The Commission, 1968.
The findings and recommendations of over 350 citizens in a review of the high schools of Detroit. This study was precipitated by the Northern High School "incident."

Dentler, Robert, and Elkins, Constance. "Intergroup Attitudes, Academic Performance, and Racial Composition." In *The Urban R's.* New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967.
The authors concluded that the ecology of ethnic and status distribution of students plays a noteworthy yet indirect role in affecting academic as well as social learning, and that the educational success of Northern school desegregation efforts will probably depend heavily upon thoughtful and well planned staff responses to the challenges inherent in changes in a status quo situation–changes grounded in restructured community residential patterns, yet permeating the public school.

Desegregation Advisory Project. "Racial Distribution of Students and Contract Personnel in the Public Schools of Wayne County Intermediate School District." Detroit: Wayne County Board of Education, 1965.

Deutsch, Martin. "Social and Psychological Perspectives on the Development." *Journal of Negro Education* 33, 3 (1964).
"Examination of the literature yields no explanation or justification for any child with an intact brain, and who is not severely disturbed, not to learn all the basic scholastic skills. The failure of such children to learn is the failure of the schools to develop curricula consistent with the environmental experiences of the children and their subsequent initial abilities and disabilities."

-----. "Some Psychosocial Aspects of Learning in the Disadvantaged," *Teachers College Record,* January, 1966: 260-265.
Significant article on education of disadvantaged children relating especially to meager environmental basis of disadvantaged children for developing cognitive skills.

Dyer, Henry S. "School Factors." *Harvard Educational Review* 38, 1 (1968): 38-56.

Educational Policies Commission. *American Education and the Search for Equal Opportunity.* Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1965.

Egerton, John W. "A Lack of Preparation in the Colleges." [survey] *Southern Education Report* 2, 8 (1967): 13.
This survey indicates that teacher education, especially at the preservice level, has not as yet been affected significantly by the current national need for and interest in preparing teachers for work with disadvantaged children.

Eisenberg, Leon. "Strengths of the Inner City Child." In Passow, et al. *Education of the Disadvantaged.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1967. 78-87.

Erikson, Erik H. "A Memorandum on Identity and Negro Youth." *Journal of Social Issues* 20, 4 (1964): 29-42.
Noting the emergence of 'new' qualities in Negro youth, Erikson reviews several of his formulations regarding ego development and identity. He discusses various aspects of identity formulation in childhood, as well as the psychological factors that lead toward a more inclusive identity.

Estvan, Frank J. "The Relationships of Nursery School Children's Social Perception to Sex, Race, Social Status, and Age." *Journal of Genetic Psychology* 107, 2 (1965): 295-308. The subjects of the study were 78 three- and four-year-old Negro and white urban children from different socio-economic backgrounds. The research focused on two questions: (1) Is social perception related to variables such as sex, race, and social status among three- and four-year-old children? (2) Does social perception develop rapidly during the nursery-school years, or is that period one of relative stability? Data were collected through projective interviews based on 14 life-situation pictures depicting contrasting social situations. Findings indicate that nursery-school children's social perception is related to sex, race, and social status. While differences appeared in each component of social perception, the greatest number fell in the realm of values and attitudes.

Facen, Geneva. "Determination of the Degree of Tension Produced in White Students When Presented with Certain Materials Regarding Negroes." *Journal of Educational Research* 55 (1962): 307-11.
Geneva Facen, Grambling College, conducted a study confined to three Junior and Senior, and two Freshmen classes of the College of Education of an unnamed southern university. All but five of the students were studying to become teachers.

Fantini, Mario D., and Weinstein, Gerald. "Taking Advantage of the Disadvantaged." *Teachers College Record* 69, 2 (1967).
Significant article reviewing approaches for dealing with the disadvantaged.

Fischer, John. "The School Park." In *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Appendices, vol. 2: 253-260). Washington: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Friggens, Paul, "Is the Negro Equal in Intelligence and Ability?" *Readers Digest,* March, 1964: 83-87.
"Operation Motivation"–initiated by Dr. Samuel Shepard, inspired school administrator, to convince parents and students in the deprived Banneker School area of St. Louis, Missouri that blacks can do as well in education as whites.

Goldberg, Miriam. "Methods and Materials for Educationally Disadvantaged Youth." In Passow, Goldberg and Tannebaum, *Education of the Disadvantaged.* New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, 1967. 369-397.

Goodlad, John J. "Desegregating the Integrated School." In *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Appendices, vol. 2: 260-268). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.

Goodman, Samuel M. *The Assessment of School Quality.* Albany: New York State Department of Education, March, 1959.

Green, Robert L. "Crisis in American Education." Speech, Conference on Race and Education. Washington, D.C., November 17, 1967.
Reviews the major practices of pre-service for teachers and programs of noteworthy activity in 10 of the leading teacher training institutions in the U.S.

Green, Robert L., and Farquhar, William W. "Negro Academic Motivation and Scholastic Achievement." *Journal of Educational Psychology* 56, 5 (1965): 241-243.
Separate random samples of 233 Negroes and 515 Caucasian high school students who were tested as to verbal aptitude, academic achievement, and academic motivation.

Gurin, Patricia, and Katz, Daniel. *Motivation and Aspiration in the Negro College.* (USOE Project No. 5-0786) Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1966.

Hagstrom, Warren C. "Segregation, Desegregation, and Negro Personality." In Weinberg (ed.) *Learning Together*. Chicago: Integrated Education Associates, 1964. 40-45.

Harris, E. L. "Sociology of Education." In R. E. Faris (ed.), *Handbook of Modern Sociology* Sociology Series. New York: Rand McNally & Co., 1966. 734-66.
A handbook with Chapter 19 devoted to the "Sociology of Education" explaining the dilemma of modern education lies in its combination of enlarging importance and dimishing clarity.

Hawk, Travis L. "Self Concepts of the Socially Disadvantaged." *Elementary School Journal* 67 (1967): 196-206.

Integrated Education 2, 2 (June-July, 1964).
This issue includes: "Children and Discrimination," by Dr. Benjamin Spock; "Education and Equality," by the Rev. Martin L. King; "Educational Excellence in Harlem," HARYOU; "Some Effects of Segregation and Desegregation," by Gerald Lesser, et al; "School Integration in England," by Sir Edward Boyle; "Administrators on School Integration," Council of School Administrators; "Moses and Pharaoh in Cleveland," by Francis Chase; "What to Read on Public School Integration," by Benjamin F. Smith; "Integration in Church Schools," by Albert Cardinal Meyer; "Educational Deprivation: Three Minorities," U.S. Department of Labor; "A Defense of the Track System," by Carl F. Hansen; and a bibliography of school integration and related topics. Some articles have been annotated separately.

Integrated Education 3, 2 (April-May, 1965).
This issue includes: "Equality in Schools, 1972," by Frederick Douglass; "School and Race in Portland," by Robert F. Agger and Clyde DeBerry; "The Track System in Washington, D.C." by Elias Blake, Jr; "Mothers and Ghetto Schools," by Sarah T. Curwood; "The Springfield Ruling," by George C. Sweeney; and a bibliography of school integration and related topics.

Integrated Education 3, 3 (June-July, 1965).
This issue includes: "Day-to-Day Problems of School Integration," by Aaron Lipton; "The Tiptoers and the Marchers," by Terry Ferrer; "The Educational Complex Study Project," by Robert A. Dentler and others; "A Study of School Integration," by Charles V. Willie and Jerome Baker; "Schools for a Multi-racial World," by Roy Wilkins; "Civic Groups and Compensatory Education," by William F. Brazziel; "The Carver-Oak Learning in the Disadvantaged," by Martin Deutsch; "A TVA for Textbooks," by Meyer Weinberg; and a bibliography of school integration and related topics.

IRCD Bulletin 1, 4 (1956). New York: Project Beacon, Graduate School of Education, Yeshiva University.
This bulletin contains a selected bibliography on desegregation and integration.

Jacoby, Susan L. "The Making of a Community School," *Urban Review* [Center for Urban Education, New York] 2, 4 (1968): 3-4.
Problems encountered by the Morgan School community board and Antioch College in operating an old, dilapidated ghetto elementary school in Washington, D.C.

Jessup, Dorothy K. "School Integration and Minority Group Achievement." In *The Urban R's*. New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967. 78-79.

Katz, Irwin. "Academic Motivation and Equal Educational Opportunity." *Harvard Educational Review* 38 (1968): 57-65.
Theory of racial differences in the early socialization of academic motivation to account for some of the favorable effects on Negroes of a) teachers' and classmates' competence, and b) attendance at predominantly white schools. "Unrealistic self-devaluation and strong anxiety are shown by recent research to be common features of Negro behavior in racially isolated institutions. These facts can be related to the educational values and practices of Negro parents, and to the Coleman data on students' academic attitudes."

———. "Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes." *American Psychologist* 19 (1964): 381-399.
Significant study: This paper brings together evidence relating to the effect of school desegregation on the academic performance of young Negroes, resulting in a variety of favorable and detrimental influences on Negro performance.

Keppel, Francis. "Educational Technology and the Educational Park." In *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967. 269-273.

Kvaraceus, William C.; Scruggs, Allies W.; and Scruggs, Charles E. "Self-Concept and Education of Negro Children." In *Because It Is Right–Educationally*. Boston: Advisory Committee on Racial Imbalance and Education, 1965.
This is a report of a conference at the Lincoln Filene Center, Tufts University, on the relationship of the self-concept of Negro youth to education and leadership. This paper also presents a condensation of an introductory working paper by Grambs, "The Self-Concept: Basis for Re-Education of Negro Youth." A 90-item bibliography is included.

Kvaraceus, William C. *Negro Self-Concept: Implication for School and Citizenship.* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965.
This book reports on "The Relationship of Education to Self-Concept in Negro Children and Youth," a conference at Tufts University, and contains the position papers and the comments and discussions that followed their presentation. The three position papers (by Jean Grambs, Bradbury Seasholes, and William Kvaraceus) examine, respectively, (1) the negative impact of the color-caste system on the personal and educational development of individuals; (2) the political socialization of Negroes and the relation of this process to the development of the self-image; and (3) the possibilities and limitations of the school as an agent of change.

LaPiere, R. T. "Attitudes vs. Actions: Social Forces." In Arnold Rose. *Studies in Reeducation of Prejudice.* Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947. 232.
Action and opinion not the same. Demonstrates change in behavior may be significant factor, as against change in verbalized attitudes.

Lasker, Bruno. *Race Attitudes in Children.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929.
Classic study (1929) which reported manifestations of prejudice in children, aged 5 and 6, which appeared after school attendance, and generally increased later–countered those who believed race prejudice was instinctive.

Laue, James H. "Justice, Violence and Social Change." Paper presented at the AAAS annual meeting, New York, December 29, 1967.
Paper presented to the Symposium on Riots and Urban Mass Violence at the AAAS annual meeting. Criticizes dominant group (Whites) as the group with the most to gain by developing explanatory predictive and control systems over lesser group (Blacks) in the name of science.

"Learning Effects of Integration in New Rochelle." *Integrated Education* 2, 6 (1964/65): 30-31.
This is a brief discussion of the integration process in New Rochelle and of the effects of integration on academic achievement of the first transfer students. Scores from grades one through five were evaluated. The mean grade-equivalent scores showed a pattern of

growth consistent with comparable socio-economic and ethnic groups. Differences in reading scores for the transfer and non-transfer group (comparable both ethnically and socio-economically) and the white group (socio-economically, but not ethnically comparable) were found to have statistical significance. However, when all these groups were compared at fourth grade level to students from an exclusively white school population with different backgrounds, scores were significantly lower, particularly in reading.

Lee, E. S. "Negro Intelligence and Selective Migration: A Philadelphia Test of the Klinberg Hypothesis." *American Sociological Review* 16 (1951): 227-233.
The purpose of this study was to investigate the relationship between intelligence test scores of Negro children and the length of time spent in northern schools, by analyzing re-test scores of the same children after varying periods of Northern residence.

Locke, Edwin A. "A Closer Look at Level of Aspiration as a Training Procedure." *Journal of Applied Psychology* 50, 5 (1966): 417-420.
Locke reanalyzed Fryer's (1964) data to test the hypothesis indicating that having Ss set levels of aspiration would lead to a higher performance level than giving knowledge of scane alone.

Mayor's Advisory Panel on Decentralization of the New York City Schools. *Reconnection for Learning: A Community School System for New York City.* New York: The Panel, 1967.

McDowell, Sophia. "How Anti-white are Negro Youth?" *American Education,* March, 1968: 2-4.

McPartland, James. "The Relative Influence of School Desegregation and of Classroom Desegregation on the Academic Achievement of Ninth Grade Negro Students." (USOE Project No. 6-1610). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, September, 1967.

Mann, John S. "Authority Styles in a Project for Negro Children." *Journal of Negro Education* 37, 2 (1968).
Discusses teacher styles and their effect on Negro children, as evidenced by study and analysis of those teachers and students involved in the project.

"MSU-prepared Teachers for Inner City Schools." *Michigan Chronicle,* August 10, 1968: 3.
Discussion of MSU efforts in preparing inner-city teachers.

Michigan Department of Education. "First Michigan Public School Racial Census." Preliminary Report. Lansing: The Department, October, 1967.

Moles, Oliver C. "Educational Training in Low-Income Families." In Irelan, Lola M. ed. *Low Income Life Styles.* Pub. no. 14. Division of Research, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, & Welfare. Washington: The Division, 1966.
Looks at the performance of children from the low-income areas as they proceed through the educational system and out into the world of work.

Morland, J. Kenneth. "A Comparison of Race Awareness of Northern and Southern Children." Speech presented at 42nd annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association, New York, 1965.
Compares the race awareness of young children in a rigidly segregated Southern city with that of young children in a less segregated Northern city to learn more about the effects of social environment on the development of attitudes. The study is based on the responses of 164 Negro and White children in nursery schools in Lynchburg, Virginia, and Boston, Massachusetts. Four groupings (Northern Negro, Northern White, Southern Negro, Southern White) with 41 subjects in each were matched for sex and age. Subjects were shown a series of pictures depicting social situations and were asked questions that measured their acceptance of members of both races, social preference, self-identification, and ability to recognize race differences. A majority of the subjects in

each group accepted members of the other race when there was no issue of choosing between Negro or White, but, when forced to choose, Negro as well as White subjects expressed a preference for Whites.

Nation's Schools 81, 2 (1968): 56-57.
Research summaries on busing and teacher expectations.

National Education Association. "Equality of Educational Opportunity as Effected by Public School Personnel Policies." *Issues and Alternatives, Report of the Fifth Conference on Civil and Human Rights in Education.* Washington, D.C.: Professional Rights and Responsibilities Commission, NEA, February 14-16, 1968.

"National Institute for Advanced Study in Teaching Disadvantaged Youth." NDEA Occasional Paper/Two, March, 1968. 24-25.

"The Negro American." *Daedalus* 94, 4 (1965/66).
Two volumes devoted to a discussion of the conditions of Negro life today, examining the prospects for early change and the strategies that will make possible "the fulfillment of rights." A number of the articles have been annotated separately.

New York State Education Commissioner's Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community Tensions. *Desegregating the Public Schools of New York City.* Albany: State Education Department, 1964.
This report evaluates the past efforts and current plans of the New York City Board of Education and its staff to desegregate the public schools. Included are discussions of open enrollment, zoning, free choice transfer policy, junior high feeder pattern changes, and pairing proposals. Ways of simultaneously desegregating and improving the schools are proposed. Data on paired schools (status) and on educational complexes are also included.

New York Times, May 19, 1968. 80:7
The local school board of the Junior High School 271, one of eight that make up the Ocean Hill-Brownsville Demonstration District in Brooklyn, battles with the city Board of Education in authority to hire and fire school personnel.

New York Times, May 19, 1968. 1:1
Points out the uneasiness surrounding the decentralization issue before the State Legislature involving the so-called Regents bill for decentralization of New York City's school system.

Ornstein, Allan C. "Techniques and Fundamentals for Teaching the Disadvantaged." *Journal of Negro Education* 36, 2 (1967): 136-145.
This paper examines two major areas related to teaching the disadvantaged child: (1) discipline and classroom management; and (2) motivation and student achievement.

Passow, A. Harry; Goldberg, Miriam; and Tannenbaum, Abraham J. (eds.) *Education of the Disadvantaged.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1967.

Pettigrew, Thomas F. "Adult Consequence of Racial Isolation and Desegregation in the Schools." In *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,* Appendices, vol. 2, 211-224.

------. "Continuing Barriers to Desegregated Education in the South." *Sociology of Education* 38, 2 (1965): 99-111.
The author discusses the influence of three factors on the rate of Southern educational desegregation: (1) social structure; (2) white resistance; and (3) Negro resistance.

------. *Negro American Intelligence.* New York: Van Nostrand, 1964.
Definitive study, from his book *Profile of the Negro American,* repudiating statements by "scientific racists" that Negroes are biologically, and in innate mental ability, inferior to Whites.

———. "Race and Equal Educational Opportunity." *Harvard Educational Review* 38, 1 (1968): 148-155.

———. "Race, Mental Illness and Intelligence: A Social-Psychological View." *Eugenics Quarterly* 11, 4 (1964): 189-215.

Raab, Earl, and Lipset, Seymour M. *Prejudice and Society.* New York: Anti-Defamation League, B'nai B'rith, 1967.
Review of studies indicating change in behavior and attitudes can result from change in external circumstances.

Racial Isolation in the Public Schools. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1967.
Landmark study which sought to:
1. Determine extent of racial isolation in the schools;
2. Identify factors that cause and perpetuate separation of Negroes and whites in the schools;
3. Examine the impact of racial isolation upon the educational, economic, and social achievement of Negroes and determine the effects of such isolation upon Whites and Negroes;
4. Assess the effectiveness of programs designed to eliminate racial isolation in the schools and remedy existing programs.

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1968.
This is a comprehensive report of the U.S. Riot Commission appointed by President Johnson and given the task of determining the origins of the civil disorders including the basic causes and factors leading to such disorders.

Riessman, Frank. "Integration: The Key to Quality Education for All." (speech) East Lansing: Michigan State University, 1964, mimeo.
Riessman discusses the ways in which integrated education will produce improved education. He examines the resistance of white parents to integration and presents a strategy for a transitional period of integration in the North.

———. "Teachers of the Poor: A Five-Point Plan." In Hunnicutt (ed.). *Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation.* Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University, School of Education, 1964.
Riessman outlines a five-point plan for informing both pre-service and in-service teachers about the strengths of low-income culture. He discusses: (1) means of building teacher respect for disadvantaged children and their families; (2) needed laboratory experiences for teachers with the disadvantaged children and their families (emerging programs are cited); (3) some do's and don'ts in teaching educationally deprived children; (4) the teaching technology appropriate for low-income youngsters (these include: the "organics" approach of Sylvia Ashton-Warner, the Montessori system, various game techniques, Senesch's techniques for teaching economics to first and second graders, and *Scope*—a new magazine for teaching poor children published by *Scholastic Magazine*); and (5) a variety of effective teacher styles and how these may be developed through integrating other parts of the plan.

Rogers, John T. *Pontiac School District Citizens Study Committee on Equality of Educational Opportunity.* Pontiac, Michigan: Pontiac Public Schools, April, 1968.
An examination of policies, programs, procedures, practices and other aspects of education operating within the district with a view toward determining their effect on and identifying factors which encourage or impede the equality of educational opportunities in the Pontiac School system. This study also includes recommendations to the Board of Education of ways to increase equality of opportunities for all pupils and people employed in the district.

Rose, Arnold M. *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice.* Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947.
Definitive review of studies prior to 1947 relating to effectiveness of school courses

dealing with race relations; effectiveness of specific propaganda in changing attitudes; effectiveness of personal contacts in changing attitudes; measurement of changes in attitudes toward minority groups; studies of differential effectiveness of media of communication, propaganda, prestige, symbols, techniques; attitude testing techniques; public opinion polls, and psychology of prejudice. This publication should be reviewed to put history of attempts to deal with intergroup relations in perspective with modern programs.

Rosenthal, Robert. "How Well Students Do Depends on How Well Teachers Expect Them to Do." *Nation's Schools* 81, 2 (1968): 57-58.
Points out that when teachers have low expectations for their students, the latter will conform to that expectation in behavior and performance; lends weight to the need for positively-oriented classroom teachers.

Rosica, Thomas [Philadelphia Schools' Coordinator of Federal Programs], as reported in "Smaller Classes, Consultant Teachers Boost Reading, Arithmetic Scores." *Nation's Schools* 81, 2 (1968).

Sexton, Patricia. *Education and Income.* New York: Viking Press, 1961.

St. John, N. H. "De Facto Segregation and Interracial Association in High School." *Sociology of Education* 37, 4 (1964): 326-344.
This study examines two questions: (1) "Do integrated high schools promote interracial associations and encourage Negroes to participate fully in the formal peer culture of the school?" (2) "What effect does earlier (elementary school) de facto segregation have on the high school behavior (informal and formal cross-racial association) of Negro students?" The author gathered data from Negroes attending two long-integrated high schools in a New England city. He found that there were more formal than informal interracial associations, but also that Negroes participated and held office in non-academic school organizations as frequently as White students. Both Negro and White students tended to prefer their own groups, Negro students more than White.

Shaycroft, Marion F. *The High School Years: Growth in Cognitive Skills.* Pittsburgh: American Institute for Research and School of Education, University of Pittsburgh, 1967.

Shepard, Samuel Jr. "Working with Parents of Disadvantaged Children." In Hunnicutt (ed.). *Urban Education and Cultural Deprivation.* Syracuse, N. Y.: Syracuse University School of Education, 1964. 33-50.
Parents pass on to their children, through the process of socialization, their aspirations, frustrations and style of living. The author describes the necessity for educating the disadvantaged parent and outlines the following approaches: (1) The primary objective should be the significant changing of parental ego-structure. (2) Values and attitudes of parents must be altered to harmonize with those of the middle class. (3) Formal education of disadvantaged adults must be greatly extended. (4) Child-rearing practices of the disadvantaged parent must be greatly improved so that their children will possess better values, attitudes, and higher levels of aspirations. The role of the school as an agent of society is discussed.

Singer, Dorothy. "The Influence of Intelligence and an Interracial Classroom on Social Attitudes." In *The Urban R's.* New York: Center for Urban Education, 1967. 99-116.
Three investigations concerned with the following questions: (1) Will children who have classroom contact with a minority group reveal greater differentiation in ethnic than children without such contact? (2) Does intelligence alone, or in conjunction with classroom contact, lead to such greater differentiation?

Smith, H. P., and Anderson, Marcia. "Racial and Family Experience Correlates of Mobility Aspiration." *Journal of Negro Education* 31 (1962): 117-124.
Thirty-three Negro and 33 White high school students, matched for age, sex, intelligence, and social status (upper-lower and lower-lower), served as subjects to test the

relationship between mobility aspiration (Rosen's achievement syndrome), race, and family experience measured by a questionnaire on an affectional pattern in the family (devised by Dynes).

Snyder, E. E. "Self-Concept Theory, an Approach to Understanding the Behavior of Disadvantaged Pupils." *Clearing House,* December, 1965. 242-246.
Self-concept theory of human behavior with special attention to education in the central city.

Suchman, J. Richard. "Motivation." *The Instructor,* December, 1966. 23-24.
Article dealing with the effects of visceral and social-ego level pressures affecting learning motivation.

Sullivan, Neil V. [discussion] *Harvard Educational Review* 38, 1 (1968): 148-155.

Swanson, Bert E., and Montgomery, Clare. "White Citizen Response to Open Enrollment." *Integrated Education* 2, 4 (1964): 44-48.

Tannenbaum, Abraham J. "Dropout or Diploma: A Socio-educational Analysis of Early Withdrawal." In Passow, et al., 1967.
Examines the role of education as a source of strength for the school dropout and advocates a total community effort.

Weinberg, Carl. "Education Level and Perceptions of Los Angeles Negroes of Educational Conditions in a Riot Area." *Journal of Negro Education* 36, 4 (1967).
A study to determine pre-factors of a riot which are educational in nature and which may cause or create violence. The research data was secured after the riot from 106 Negroes through interview, by Negroes. Study does not deal with stable relationships or regularities existent before riot occurred, plus no post-riot and pre-riot attutitudes were compared: No data available on this.

Weinberg, Meyer. *Desegregation Research: An Appraisal.* Bloomington, Indiana: Phi Delta Kappa, 1968.
This is a precise summary of all research on desegregation and an appraisal of it. This takes up major "landmark" research in the areas that are supposed to matter.

———. *Learning Together: A Book on Integrated Education.* Chicago: Integrated Education Associates, 1964.

Wilkerson, Doxey A. "School Integration, Compensatory Education and the Civil Rights Movement in the North." *Journal of Negro Education* 34, 3 (1965): 300-309.
The author analyzes and comments on school integration and compensatory education in the North and on the interrelations between these developing trends. He considers (1) centering the responsibility for de facto school segregation; (2) relating school integration to equal educational opportunities and academic performance; and (3) relating desegregated public schools to massive residential segregation in big cities. He also asks: What happens after school desegregation? Should one expect that merely bringing white and Negro children to the same school will yield important educational values?

Wilson, Alab B. "Residential Segregation of Social Classes and Aspirations of High School Boys." *American Sociological Review* 24 (1959): 836-845.
Significant study indicating relation of achievement to attendance in middle-class schools.

Young, Donald. "Some Effects of a Course on American Race Problems on the Race Prejudice of 450 Undergraduates at the University of Pennsylvania." *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 22 (1927): 235-242. (In Rose, 1947)
Probably the earliest and most-reported early study of an attempt to determine change in attitudes of undergraduate students as a result of a course on American Race Problems.

APPENDIX A

Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)

ERIC is a nationwide information service which acquires, abstracts, indexes, stores, retrieves, and disseminates nationally the significant research related documents. Access to the holdings of the ERIC system is gained through the index listings in the monthly publication *Research in Education.* The documents themselves can be acquired from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service in either microfiche or hard copy form. Microfiche cost is 25 cents per fiche (70 regular pages) and hard copy, 45 cents per page. A lower rate is available for bulk standing orders. Special collections are issued irregularly.

The various ERIC clearinghouses have individual publications of their own.

In general, ERIC is a nationally organized, decentralized educational information system concentrating on information about those documents and projects which are not normally available to educators through regular sources.

User Qualifications

All interested parties.

General Comments

The scope of the ERIC program will probably widen, in terms of coverage by clearinghouses and range of services.

Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC)
Bureau of Research, U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

Documents are obtained from: ERIC Document Reproduction Service
National Cash Register Company
Box 2206
Rockville, Maryland 20852

The addresses of the ERIC Clearinghouses are:

ERIC Clearinghouse on . . .

Counseling and Personnel Services	University of Michigan Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104
the Disadvantaged	Yeshiva University 55 Fifth Avenue New York, New York 10003
Educational Administration	University of Oregon Eugene, Oregon 97403

Exceptional Children
Council for Exceptional Children
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Junior Colleges
University of California at Los Angeles
405 Hilgard Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90024

Linguistics and Uncommonly Taught Languages
Center for Applied Linguistics
1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Reading
204 Pine Hall
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana 47401

Rural Education and Small Schools
Box AP – University Park Branch
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, New Mexico 88001

School Personnel
City University of New York
33 West 42nd Street
New York, New York 10036

Science Education
The Ohio State University
1460 West Lane Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43221

the Teaching of Foreign Languages
Modern Language Assn. of America
62 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10011

Vocational and Technical Education
The Ohio State University
980 Kinnear Road
Columbus, Ohio 43212

Adult and Continuing Education
Syracuse University
107 Roney Lane
Syracuse, New York 13210

the Teaching of English
National Council of Teachers of English
508 South Sixth Street
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Library and Information Sciences
University of Minnesota
Library School
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

Educational Media and Technology
Institute for Communications Research
Cypress Hall
Stanford University
Stanford, California 94305

Educational Facilities
University Facilities Research Center
606 State Street
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Early Childhood Education
University of Illinois
805 West Pennsylvania
Urbana, Illinois 61801

NOTE: Most of the clearinghouses listed do not offer direct reference service, as their main function is the gathering and input of materials into the ERIC system. They do have some individual publications, however.

Areas of Interest

Research findings and information about new educational developments with emphasis on those documents which are not handled by conventional indexing and abstracting services. All Bureau of Research supported projects and programs are also included.

Although all areas germane to education are of interest to ERIC, clearinghouses have been established in 18 general areas (see above).

Holdings

Research reports, descriptions of new or experimental programs, reviews of research, theoretical or conceptual analysis of issues, interpretive summaries of research on a topic. Documents including the above are gathered by the clearinghouses, those most pertinent are selected and passed on to the national dissemination system. There are, therefore, two levels of holdings: those in the national dissemination system and those retained at the clearinghouses. Any document produced by a federally funded project which is relevant to education is automatically included in the national system.

Publications of the Center

All of the publications listed below can be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., unless otherwise indicated.

Research in Education—a monthly abstracting and indexing bulletin which has an annual cumulated index. *Research in Education* contains citations for all documents received from the clearinghouses. Resumes with abstracts, descriptors and cataloging information are provided for each document. Documents are indexed by acquisition number, author, institution, and subject. Resumes and indexes for projects recently funded through the Bureau of Research, USOE, are also included. Yearly subscription: $11.00. Cumulative Index: approximately $3.50.

ERIC Collection on the Disadvantaged–a special collection of 1,740 documents on the disadvantaged. Micro-fiche, $230.00; Hard Copy, $3,480 (order from ERIC Document Reproduction Service).

Office of Education Research Reports, 1956-1965–a special collection of 1,214 research reports on projects supported by the USOE in the period 1956-1965. Micro-fiche: $280.00 (order from ERIC Document Reproduction Service).

Selected Documents on Higher Education–a special collection including 845 reports dealing with higher education. Microfiche: $100.00 (order from ERIC Document Reproduction Service).

Catalog of Selected Documents on the Disadvantaged, A Number and Author Index (OE 37001) and a *Subject Index* (OE 37002)–Indexes to the Disadvantaged Collection. Author and Number Index $0.65, Subject Index $3.00.

Index to Pacesetters in Innovation: Fiscal Year 1966 (OE 20103)–an index to the PACE collection for fiscal year 1966. $2.50.

Number and Subject Index of Selected Documents on Higher Education (ED 012110)–a subject and report index for the 845 reports included in a series of Selected Documents of Higher Education. Microfiche: $0.50, Hard Copy: $3.24.

Thesaurus of ERIC Descriptors (first edition) (OE 12030)–contains a listing of the 3,000 descriptors utilized for indexing the ERIC collection. $2.50.

In addition to the general collections and publications listed above, the various clearinghouses produce a variety of newsletters, bibliographies, and interpretative and analytical reports. These publications appear in *Research in Education* or are available in limited quantities from the individual clearinghouse.

APPENDIX B

Organizations and/or Associations

This section includes those listings which would be "most helpful" to contact for services and/or guidance in the area of field work being done in race relations. If additional sources are needed, the *Directory of Civil Rights and Human Relations Agencies in Michigan* prepared by the Michigan Civil Rights Commission, and the *Encyclopedia of Associations* by Gale Research Company, Detroit, Michigan, are recommended.

1.NATIONAL

a. Anti-Defamation League,B'nai B'rith
305 Lexington Avenue
New York, New York 10016

b. American Federation of Teachers
716 N. Rush Street
Chicago, Illinois 60611

c. Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, Inc.
1538 Ninth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001

d. American Friends Service Commission
160 N. Fifteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

e. American Society of African Culture
401 Broadway
New York, New York 10038

f. Congress of Racial Equality
38 Park Row
New York, New York 10038

g. Legal Defense and Education Fund, Inc. (NAACP)
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

h. National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
20 W. 40th Street
New York, New York 10018

i. National Association of Inter-Group Relations (NAIRO)
2027 Massachusetts Avenue
Washington, D.C.

j. National Conference of Christians and Jews
43 West 57th Street
New York, New York, 10019

k. National Education Association (NEA)
1201 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

(1) Association of Classroom Teachers
(2) Center for Human Relations
(3) Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards
(4) Research Division
(5) Task Force on Urban Education
(6) Urban Division

l. National Urban League
14 E. 48th Street
New York, New York 10017

m. New York State Commission for Human Rights
Albany, New York

n. Phi Delta Kappa (PDK)
Bloomington, Indiana

o. Southern Christian Leadership Conference
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

p. Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

q. Integrated Education Associates
343 South Dearborn Street
Chicago, Illinois 60604

r. U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C. 20202

s. Office of Equal Educational Opportunity
U.S. Office of Education
Washington, D.C.

t. U.S. Department of Justice
Community Relations Service
Washington, D.C.

2. MICHIGAN

a. American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan (ACLU)
Ernest Mazey, Executive Director
1600 Washington Blvd. Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan 48226

b. American Friends Service Committee, Inc.
Frank Zinn, Chairman, Michigan Area Committee
1222 Woodlawn
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

c. Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL)
Richard Lobenthal, Executive Director
163 Madison Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48901

d. Archdiocese of Detroit, Human Relations Division
Community Affairs Department
Rev. Fr. James J. Sheehan, Executive Secretary
305 Michigan Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48226

e. Michigan Catholic Conference
Francis J. Coomes, Executive Director
520 N. Capitol Avenue
Mail Address: P. O. Box 157
Lansing, Michigan 48901

f. Michigan Conference of NAACP Branches
Dr. Albert Wheeler, President
234 Eighth Street
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48103

g. Michigan Conference Youth Councils and College Chapters, NAACP
515 Manor Drive
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105
Mrs. LaVerne Hill, Advisor

h. Michigan Education Association Human Relations Commission
Joseph Hayden, Director
Detroit MEA Office

i. Michigan Region, National Conference of Christians and Jews
Detroit Round Table
150 W. Boston Blvd.
Detroit, Michigan 48202
Robert M. Frehse, Executive Director

j. Pontiac Organization of Black Youth (POOBY)
Miss Shurle Warren, Secretary
499 Harvey Street
Pontiac, Michigan 48053

Mr. Richard Northcross, President
168 Astorwood
Pontiac, Michigan

3. LOCAL

a. ACCESS (Action Committee Coordinating to End Segregation in Society)
Rev. Daniel Murphy, Chairman
Assistant Pastor, Immaculate Heart of Mary Church
Detroit, Michigan

b. Detroit Branch, NAACP
Robert Tindal, Executive Secretary
242 E. Warren
Detroit, Michigan 48201

c. Detroit Commission on Community Relations
Richard V. Marks, Executive Director
150 N. Michigan Avenue, 4th Floor
Detroit, Michigan 48226

d. Detroit Urban League
Francis A. Kornegy, Executive Director
208 Mack Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201

e. Grass Roots Organizational Worker (GROW)
Rev. Cameron Byrd
United Church of Christ
3527 Roosevelt
Detroit, Michigan 48202

f. Mayor's Commission on Children and Youth
3540 Sheridan
Detroit, Michigan 48214
Att.: Miss Cathy Laird

g. Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches
65 Columbia East
Detroit, Michigan 48201
Rev. G. Merrill Lenox, Executive Director

h. Metropolitan Detroit Council of Churches
Commission on Race and Cultural Relations
Rev. G. Merrill Lennox, Executive Director
65 Columbia East
Detroit, Michigan 48201

i. Model City Program (Mayor's Comm.)
David Cason, Jr., Director
139 Cadillac Square
American Title Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan 48226

j. Neighborhood Legal Services
7351 Gratiot
Detroit, Michigan

k. People Against Racism Movement, Inc. (PAR)
Frank H. Joyce, Executive Secretary
212 McKerchey Bldg., 2641 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201

l. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
10229 Hamilton
Detroit, Michigan 48208

APPENDIX C

Experts

Expert opinion and assistance served as the starting point for the committee. Such help was invaluable to the committee in providing guidance as to the primary sources to consult for material, and in sending research data which was felt to be significant in the area of racism.

1. Dr. James Allen*
   Commissioner of Education
   State of New York
   Albany, New York

2. Mr. Robert Butler
   ERIC-IRC
   Yeshiva University
   55 Fifth Avenue
   New York, New York 10003

3. Mr. Robert F. Campbell
   Executive Director
   Southern Education Reporting Service
   P. O. Box 6156
   1109 Nineteenth Avenue, South
   Nashville, Tennessee 37212

4. Mark Chesler
   Center for Research on the Utilization of Scientific Knowledge
   University of Michigan
   Ann Arbor, Michigan

5. Dr. A. F. Citron
   College of Education
   Wayne State University
   Detroit, Michigan 48202

6. Dr. Juanita Collier
   College of Education
   Wayne State University
   Detroit, Michigan 48202

7. Dr. DeLisle Crawford
   College of Education
   Wayne State University
   Detroit, Michigan 48202

8. Dr. Larry Cuban
   Director of Information, U.S. Civil Rights Commission
   Washington, D.C. 20036

*Now Commissioner of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, & Welfare.

9. Dr. John W. Davis
Director of Teacher Information and Security
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc.
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019

10. Dr. George Jones
Director, Task Force on Urban Education
National Education Association
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

11. Frank H. Joyce
Executive Secretary, People Against Racism Movement (PARO), Inc.
212 McKerchey Bldg.
2631 Woodward Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48201

12. Dr. James Laue
Director, Program Evaluation and Development
U. S. Department of Justice
Community Relations Service
Washington, D.C. 20530

13. Richard Lobenthal
Executive Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
163 Madison Avenue
Detroit, Michigan

14. Ernest Mazey, Executive Director
American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan (ACLU)
1600 Washington Blvd. Bldg.
Detroit, Michigan 48226

15. Dr. Glenn Robinson
Director, Research Division
NEA
1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

16. Curtis Rodgers
Director, Employment and Education
Detroit Commission on Community Relations
Detroit, Michigan

17. Mrs. Rita Scott
Education Director
Michigan Civil Rights Commission
1000 Cadillac Square
Detroit, Michigan 48226

18. William Taylor
    Executive Director, U.S. Civil Rights Commission
    Washington, D.C. 20036

19. Dr. Melvin Tumin
    Princeton University
    Princeton, New Jersey
    (Author of *ADL Research Annals*)

20. Pat Walters
    Southern Regional Council
    5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
    Atlanta, Georgia

21. Dr. Charles Wesley
    Executive Director
    Association for Study of Negro Life and History
    1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

22. Dr. Kenneth Wiley
    Department of History
    College of Liberal Arts
    Wayne State University
    Detroit, Michigan 48202

23. Mrs. Rosena Willis
    Associate Secretary
    NEA Human Relations Center
    1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

24. Dr. Duncan Yaggy
    Educational Development Laboratory Center for
    Research and Development on Educational Differences
    Harvard University
    Cambridge, Massachusetts

25. Oscar Cohen, Program Director
    Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
    315 Lexington Avenue
    New York, New York 10016

26. Rupert J. Picott, President
    Association of Study of Negro Life and History
    1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
    Washington, D.C. 20036

GPO 812-886-8